THE WITCH of ENDOR;

OR, A

PLEA

FOR THE

Divine Adminiſtration

By the *Agency* of

GOOD and EVIL SPIRITS.

Written ſome Years ago, at the Requeſt of a Lady; and now Reprinted with a *Preliminary Diſcourſe*, Humbly Addreſſed to the [illegible] *Members* of the Houſe of C—— brought in their *Bill* (*Jan.* 27) for *Repealing* the Statute of 1 *Jac.* Cap. 12. concerning *WITCHCRAFT*.

— *Leſt haply ye be found even to fight againſt God.*
Counſellor *Gamaliel's* Advice, [illegible]

LONDON

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Oates, Titus

To the HONOURABLE

Members *of the* Houſe *of* Commons, *Mr.* CONDUIT, *Mr.* CROSS *and Mr.* HEATHCOT.

GENTLEMEN,

YOU have been lately told, by a Writer of very great Diſtinction, * *That Diſtance of Time makes a great Alteration in Religion, as well as Languages*; which, if true, may poſſibly ſerve, in the beſt Manner, to juſtify your preſent Proceedings relating to *Witchcraft:* For, otherwiſe, what can be ſaid for thoſe renowned *Sages* of the *Law*, ſuch as Lord Chief Juſtice *Coke*, Lord Chief Juſtice *Hale*, &c. who, with all their *Learning*, Good *Senſe*, and Solid

* See the *plain Account* of the Nature and End of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, p. 8.

Judgment, are now to be *recorded* as ſad Inſtances of Human *Frailty*; and are become, in one Reſpect, as much the Subject of your *Pity* and *Deriſion*, as they formerly were of your profound Veneration, in all Points of our *Engliſh* Law.

'Tis ſaid, that this *intended Repeal* of the *Statute* of 1 *Jac.* C. 12. took its Riſe from the ſame *zealous Principle*, that now animates and diſplays itſelf in ſo *ſignal* a Manner, for preſerving the many *Lives* of His Majeſty's good Subjects, which might otherwiſe periſh by a weak Judge, and an ignorant Jury; as alſo for *reſcuing* all of us in general, (ſuch as paſs under the Denomination of *Proteſtant*) from the grievous Oppreſſion of ſuch *Relicts* (as I ſuppoſe you take *Witchcraft* to be) of *Popery* and *Superſtition*: And yet it has ſo happened, Gentlemen, that, during the *long* Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, of glorious Memory (who, you will agree, neither wanted wiſe Senators, nor able Counſellors; and, conſidering the many *Thunder-Claps* they had to annoy them from the *Vatican*, it may be reaſonably thought, their *Spirits* were the more irritated, and conſequently that the Work of *Reformation* went faſter on). I ſay, during that *long* Reign, *Witchcraft* was not deemed a *Relict* of *Popery*. And when, after the Queen's Demiſe, the *Legiſlature* had Reaſons (which I ſhall not trouble you with) for making Alterations, by repealing the 5th of Queen *Elizabeth*; you will pleaſe to obſerve, they made no *Alterations*, as to their *Notions*

of

of *Witchcraft.* They ſtill conſider'd *it* as an *Offence Capital* immediately againſt the *Divine Majeſty*, and therefore made the *Puniſhment Felony*, as being firmly perſuaded of the *real* Nature of the *Offence.* Nor were our *Senators*, in ſucceeding Reigns, hardy enough (pardon the Expreſſion) to debate the *Operations* of the *Intellectual* World: For they were convinced (and, upon ſuch Conviction, they ever declined ſuch *Debates*) that Infinite Wiſdom and Power has made it as great a *Secret* to his Creature *Man*, *HOW*, or in what *Manner* his *Miniſtring Spirits* (for Good or for Evil, to Reward or to Puniſh) do *communicate* with us in this *ſublunary World*, as He has *that* of Soul and Body's *operating* on each other. You will not queſtion the *latter* Operation, becauſe 'tis *Fact* too notorious. And give me Leave to add, that, without the Help of ſuch a *Divine Spark* within your own Breaſts, you could not ſo much as carry on your Debates on the *former.*

My Lord Chief Juſtice *Hale* (Gentlemen) in his *Pleas* of the *Crown*, gives the following ſhort Analytical Account of the *Statute* concerning *Witchcraft.* " At Common Law, ſays he, " *Witchcraft* is puniſhed with Death, as *Here-*" *ſy* was, by Writ *de Heretico comburendo.* *

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* My *Lord* refers to *Coke*'s Pleas of the Crown, *Cap.* 6. which I don't doubt, but your Worſhips have conſulted, and pity'd *his* Underſtanding and Knowledge too as well as the *other*'s.

" The

" The Statute of 1 *Jac.* 12. is the only Law " now in Force againſt *it*, and divides it into " *two* Degrees. *Witchcraft* in the *firſt* Degree " made *Felony* without Benefit of Clergy, inclu- " ding *four* Sorts or Species.

" I. Invocation or Conjuration of an Evil " Spirit.

" II. Conſult, covenant with, entertain, em- " ploy, feed or Reward any Evil Spirit to any " Intent, tho' no Act be done thereupon.

" III. Take up any dead Perſon, or any Part " thereof, to be employed or uſed in Witch- " craft, Charm, *&c.* though not actually uſed or " employed.

" IV. Exerciſe any Witchcraft, Inchantment, " Charm, or Sorcery, whereby any Perſon ſhall " be killed, deſtroyed, conſumed, or lamed in " his or her Body, or any Part thereof; which " requires the Act to be done, *viz.* laming, " conſuming, *&c.*

" Theſe, and all acceſſary before, to ſuffer " as *Felons* without Clergy: But Acceſſaries " may be after; but then they have Clergy, " becauſe not ſpecially excluded.

" *Witchcraft* in the *Second* Degree;

" I. To take upon them by Witchcraft, In- " chantment, Charm, or Sorcery, to tell where " *Treaſure* is to be found: They that take up- " on them to do it, though they cannot, yet " within this Law.

" II. Or

" II. Or where Goods *loſt* or *ſtolen* may be " found.

" III. Or to the Intent to provoke any Per- " ſon to *unlawful* Love; theſe Clauſes come " under the Word (*taking upon*).

" IV. Whereby Goods or Cattle ſhall be de- " ſtroyed; which requires an actual deſtroying, " and not a bare *taking upon them.*

" V. Or ſhall uſe *Witchcraft*, &c. to hurt " any Perſon, though the ſame be not effected. " The Puniſhment of theſe, 1. The *Firſt* Of- " fence a Year's Impriſonment and Pillory. 2. " The *Second* Offence, *Felony:* But this re- " quires, 1. An actual Conviction and Judg- " ment for the *Firſt.* 2. The Second Offence " muſt be committed after the Judgment for the " *Friſt.* The like in Forgery, Tranſportation " of Sheep, *&c.* But the Conſequents upon an " Attainder, *viz. Corruption of Blood*, and Loſs " of *Dower:* But during Life, the *Lands for-* " *feit.* And note, A Saving againſt Corruption " of Blood, preſerves the Deſcent; and Saving " of the Land to the Heir, prevents Corruption " of Blood."

But, Gentlemen, ſhould the greateſt Ornaments of the *Long Robe* have hitherto been *miſtaken* in not judging of this *Statute*, in the Manner you do; yet, 'tis humbly preſumed, you think as they did, as to the *Intellectual World* in general, though you cannot allow of ſuch its Operations upon the *Material* One. *One* of your own Side of the Queſtion, a *Clergyman*, now a Biſhop

Biſhop in *Ireland*, is even *poſitive* (and I make no Doubt, but you will confirm it in the *Preamble* of your *Bill*) when he tells his Three Right Honourable CHIEFS, That *'tis a Point* very certain, *that the* ſober *Belief of good and bad Spirits is an* Eſſential Part *of every good Chriſtian's Faith.* * I readily grant, the Illuſtrious *Triumvirate* eaſily admitted his *Point* to be very *true*; but, I muſt think, they ſtill widely *differed* from him; or, rather, judged it *inconſiſtent* with ſuch a *Belief*, that all *Communications* ſhould be reckoned *Imaginary*, and that the *Intellectual World* ſhould not ſerve the Purpoſes of an Almighty Being, in *rewarding* or *puniſhing* according to the Divine Appointment. And I am the more inclined to think ſo, becauſe They, whom, *by his Dedication*, he imagined might become his *Patrons* in ſuch Sentiments, never altered their *Notions*, during the whole Courſe of their Lives (ſo far as I have heard) as to the *Fundamental* Part of the *Statute*, which you are now going *virtually* to *Repeal*: And tho' *they* were known to be as ſtrongly attach'd to the *Proteſtant* Religion and Intereſt, as yourſelves can poſſibly be, yet they could not entertain even a Thought of having the *Statute ſo Repealed*; nor conclude (as the *Biſhop* does) *That* Communications *from the other World ſhould be deemed the Spring* both of the worſt Corruptions of Reli-

* Dr. *Hutchinſon's* Hiſtorical Eſſay concerning *Witchcraft*, in his Dedication

gion,

gion, and the greateſt Perverſions of Juſtice. I wiſh, *that* Right Reverend, ſince he was pleas'd to annex his *two* Sermons to his *Hiſtorical* Tract, (with an Intent, no Doubt, of better reconciling his *jarring* Notions about this Affair) had forbore *mangling* an excellent *Collect* of our Church; (*a*) which, as 'tis grounded on the Holy Scriptures, ſo *it* ſtands, and I hope, will ever ſtand, *ſupported* by the *Legiſlature*. What need was there of that *little Variation*, (as he calls it) in ſtriking out the Words, *That, by God's Appointment, Angels may Succour and Defend Us*, and placing in the Room of them, *Aſſiſt and further us in the Race of all Goodneſs?* He knew very well, that St. *Paul* has inform'd us, that we ought to beg this *Succour* and *Defence* from *Good Spirits*; that we may be able to *Wreſtle* (not only againſt *Fleſh* and *Blood*, tho' that's a pretty difficult Task we all find; but) againſt *bad* ones; to defeat the Wiles, and manifold *Aſſaults* of *Principalities*, and *Powers*, *of the* RULERS *of the Darkneſs of* THIS WORLD, SPIRITUAL WICKEDNESS *in High Places*. (*b*) The *Biſhop* muſt know, how *Strong* the *Original* Words are againſt his *Notions*. With what Intent cou'd St. *Paul* call theſe Powers κοσμοκρατορας, but to ſignify, that we might too often become their *Vaſſals*, if we did not take Care? And what are the τα πνευ-

(*a*) *Collect* appointed for the *Feaſt* of St. *Michael* and all Angels.

(*b*) *Eph.* vi. 12.

μαλικα

μαστιγὰ τῆς πορνείας, but what ſtands *explain'd* in the *Margin* of ſome of our Bibles, viz. *Wicked Spirits?* There is a πάλη, a *Struggle* then againſt their *Efforts*; and if ſo, there muſt be ſomething more than an *Imaginary Communication*, as the *Biſhop* ſtiles it. In ſhort, the very *Cloſe* of the *Biſhop's* Sermon could not poſſibly lead him to make ſuch a *little Variation*, (as he calls it) but it leads, rather, to make *none* at all, agreeable to this Paſſage of St *Paul*. The *Biſhop's* Words are theſe—*Their Concern*, i.e. *of* good *Angels*, *about our Souls*, *ſhews the Value of them*; *and from their Concern about them*, *let us learn Judgment*, *and encreaſe our own Care*; *and take Heed ſo to order our Lifes*, *that they may not be conſign'd to that State*, *which God hath prepared for the greateſt of* thoſe Evil Spirits, and all his Inſtruments of Evil. *How juſtly might St.* Paul's *Words of Exhortation have follow'd*—*Wherefore put on the whole Armour of God*, *that ye may be able to ſtand againſt the* Wiles of the Devil; for we wreſtle not, *&c.* But the *Collect* was rather to be altered than the *Text*; and a *little Variation* in the *latter*, wou'd not have paſs'd ſo eaſily, as in the *former*; tho' the *Collect* manifeſtly comprehends the full Meaning, and Purport of the *Text* itſelf; and the *Force* and *Energy* of the *Words* in our *Collect* are *loſt*, when the Words (otherwiſe Pious and Good) are put in their Room, viz. *Aſſiſting and furthering us in the Race of all Goodneſs*,

Permit

Permit me, Gentlemen, to dwell a little longer upon theſe *Words* of St. *Paul*, (*a*) becauſe they will rather *guide* than miſlead you in the *Work* you are about: And, as 'tis a Work of no ſmall Importance, it will not be taken amiſs, if I remind you of *Gamaliel's* Advice likewiſe. When the *Goſpel* of Chriſt was Preaching, (which ever condemns *Witchcraft*, and *Sorcery*; Μαγεία, *Acts* xiii, 6, 8, 10. φαρμακεία *Galat.* v. 20, however you, our *Repreſentatives*, ſhall pleaſe to determine the Affair *within Doors*) he had ſuch a ſtrong Impulſe on his Mind, of an *overruling Power*, that he thought it proper, tho' a *Jew*, and a great Enemy to the *Apoſtles*, to let them go on Preaching the *Myſterious* Doctrine of the *Reſurrection*: tho', you know, St. *Paul* had no other Treatment at *Athens*, (when he did the ſame Thing,) than *that* of a *Babler*. But, ſays the *Doctor* of the *Law*, (νομοδιδάσκαλος) *Take heed to yourſelves*, &c. The *Fathers*, Gentlemen, were Men of *great Learning*, as well as *Piety*, and *Integrity*; and therefore may juſtly demand your Attention in this *Affair*: They were by no Means Strangers to *Metaphyſicks*; but, yet, did by no Means preſume to make ſuch *Diſcuſſions*, and *Altercations*, about the Nature of an *Immaterial* Being (not excepting *God* himſelf) as ſome of our *Moderns* have ventur'd to do: (*b*) One of them has told you (and

(*a*) *Eph.* vi. 12.

(*b*) See thoſe inſufferable *Debates* with Mr. *Lawes*, about the *Immenſity* of God, &c.

a *hardy* one he is, for which, I ſhall ask no Pardon) that you are to conceive of the *Divine Subſtance*, as being *extended*; and if *extended*, our *Faculties*, which God has given us, muſt ever be at a Loſs to conceive of ſuch *Divine Subſtance*, otherwiſe, than as *Material*; and conſequently, what muſt be the *Being*, that he wou'd have us to make the *Object* of our *Worſhip?* (*a*) "Since God, ſays he, is ſome Way or "other preſent every where, it follows that his "*Subſtance*, for *without Subſtance* he cannot "be *preſent* at all, it follows, that his Subſtance "muſt exiſt every where; and, conſequently "have an infinite *Expanſion*. As God cannot "be *preſent* where his Subſtance is *not*, ſo neither can he *Act* where his Subſtance is *not*. "His *acting* without *Local Preſence* is acting "*no where*, or without *Exiſting*, if exiſting "no where is the ſame as not exiſting." What ſhall we ſay, Gentlemen? Shall ſuch *Arguing* as this, about the *Almighty*, be any longer ſuffer'd in a *Chriſtian* Country? What ſays the *Royal Prophet?* (I am perſuaded, you believe both the *Prophets* and *Apoſtles* too) *Whether ſhall I go from thy Spirit*, (*b*) *or whether ſhall I go from thy Preſence*, &c. *My* Reins *are Thine*, (*my* Thoughts, *and my* very Soul *are Thine*, open *and* naked *to thy All-ſeeing Eye*). *David* did not want *Philoſophy*, when he thus

(*a*) *Ib.* Page 106, &c.
(*b*) *Pſalm* 139.

ſpake

ſpake of the *Infinite* Being; and had the *Author*, juſt mentioned, ſtudied his *Bible* more, and leſs concerned himſelf in vending ſuch impious *metaphyſical Jargon*; he might have form'd from thence the trueſt, and therefore the *beſt* Notions of the *Immenſity* and *Infinity* of the *Divine Nature*; ſuch as all the *Metaphyſicks*, whether of the ancient or modern *Schools*, muſt be allowed to fall ſhort of. But, Gentlemen, tho' *it muſt needs be that Offences come*, yet, I hope, I am not to remind you, that therefore you ought to be the more *circumſpect*. 'Tis impoſſible, ſuch *imaginary*, *vain*, *ſandy Links* of *Argument*, can long detain or lead Captive Perſons of that known *good Senſe*, the Almighty has been pleaſed to give you. Don't be *offended* if a *Church* of *England* Prieſt has told you (as he does in expreſs Terms) in a very groſs Manner, (*a*) as to the Nature of *Spirit* in general; "As every *Body*'s Sphere of acting is confin'd "(ſays he) to its *Surface*, without and beyond "which it cannot act; ſo every *Spirit*'s *Sphere* "of acting is *confin'd* to its *local Preſence*, with-"out and beyond which it *cannot* act. And "this Sort of Philoſophy is *demonſtrative*, he "ſays, or elſe *nothing* is *ſo*." But I ſpare him, unwilling to take up too much of your Time. Had the good *Primitive Fathers*, I juſt now mentioned, talk'd after this Manner, they muſt have laid *aſide* their *Bible*, as this Gentleman (to his

(*a*) *Ibid.*

Shame)

Shame) ſeems to have done ; at leaſt to any good Purpoſe ; and thoſe *Venerable Lights* of the Chriſtian Church might juſtly have deſerv'd your *Cenſure :* But they talk quite otherwiſe upon this *Matter*, conſiſtently with the *Tenour* of the *whole Scriptures.*

One of them, diſcourſing upon this *Inſtructive* Paſſage of St. *Paul* (*Eph.* vi.) concerning the *Operations* of *Evil Spirits*, when he remarks upon the 11th Verſe, where we are exhorted to put on the whole Armour of God, ſays thus ; " The Apoſtle does not ſay, we are to put on " this *Armour*, in Order to enter the Liſts (as " Warriors do) with theſe Inviſible Enemies ; " but rather that we fortify our Minds againſt " their *Cheats* and *Deluſions* ; (ἐ πρὸς τὰς μά- " χας, ἐδὲ πρὸς τὰς πολέμους, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὰς μεθο- " δείας, *&c.* ſays St. *Chryſoſtom*, Hom. 22. in " Epiſt. ad Eph.) For the Enemy we have to " deal with, does not wage War openly, but " after an *inſidious*, treacherous Manner ; which " is the Import of the Word μεθοδείας made " Uſe of by the Apoſtle (which we tranſlate " *Wiles*) conſiſting in the various Arts and " *Communications* which they are made capa- " ble of exerciſing amongſt us. There are " many Ways, ſays the ſame *Father*, (*a*) where- " by the Devil circumvents the Indolent and " Secure. " *Tertullian*, who was once an Eminent *Lawyer*, you know (Gentlemen) even in

(*a*) *Chryſoſt.* Hom. 4. in *Geneſin.*

the

the *Second Century*, where he is talking upon this very Paſſage of St. *Paul* now before us, (*Eph.* vi. 12.) renders κοσμοκράτορας, ſometimes *Mundi-potentes*, at other Times *Mundi-tenentes*, implying, that, by the divine Permiſſion, they were in *Poſſeſſion* of this *Sublunary* World; agreeable to which, the moſt Learned, whether Ancient or Modern, do generally aſſign the *Regions* of the Air between us and the *Moon*, to be the chief Place of Reſidence for theſe *Evil Spirits*. (*a*) It was, in *Alluſion* to this Paſſage of St. *Paul*, that *Minutius Fœlix*, in his *Dialogue* (wrote at the very Beginning of the *third* Century between a *Chriſtian* and a *Jew*) ſays, "Our being ſenſible of, and ſuffering under the Infirmities or "Failings of human Nature, is not to be interpreted properly a Puniſhment, ſo much as a "*Warfare*. (*b*)" And the ſame Eminent *Father*, I have cited already, ſays, 'Tis ſuch a *Warfare*, that admits of no *Truce* or *Reſpite*. (*c*) Theſe *Evil Spirits* or *Demons* (ſays an Ancient Writer, contemporary with our Venerable *Bede*) are to be conſidered as *Beings of the* ſame Nature (τῆς ἀυτῆς φύσεως) with *good Angels*, but

(*a*) *Tertull.* Lib. 1, de Reſur. Cap. 22.

(*b*) Quod corporis humana vitia ſentimus & patimur, non eſt pœna, MILITIA eſt.

(*c*) ὁ πόλεμος ἀναχωρὴν οὐδὲ πόσε ἔχων, *Chryſoſt.* Orat. 3. in *Geneſin.*

became

became *evil* (*through their Pride*) by their own Choice. (*a*)

Good and *Bad Angels* muſt be *Subſtances*, however we are at a Loſs to reconcile that with the *preſent* Notions we have of *Space* and *local Motion*. The ſacred Page has aſſured us, That the *Good* do *ſtand* before the Throne of God; and that 'tis one Part of their Buſineſs to *conduct* the Souls of the Bleſſed into Heaven, as well as to *miniſter* here below. They are both of them *Spiritual Beings*; and yet St. *Paul* (who was once caught up into the *third* Heaven) has aſſured us, that *Spiritual Beings* have ſome Sort of *Bodies* or *Vehicles*, which we are not to be made acquainted with on this Side of the Grave. *There is a* Natural Body, ſays the Apoſtle, *i. e.* ſuch a *Tabernacle* of *Clay*, as we all dwell in: But then, ſays he, *There is alſo a* Spiritual Body (σῶμα πνευματικόν, 1 *Cor.* xv. 44.) Let our preſent *Scepticks* ſhew the *Difference*, if they can, rather than queſtion the *Authority* of the *Holy Scriptures*, by which we hope to be ſaved. That the *good* Angels have often *appeared*, is an undoubted Truth, evident from the Writings both of the *Old* and *New Teſtament*. And what can we underſtand by ſuch *Appearances*, but that they aſſumed ſome *airy Vehicle*, ſuch as the Almighty is pleaſed they ſhould *ſometimes* be cloathed with, in a more

(*a*) ἐκουσίως ἐν τῷ ἀγαθῷ πρὸς τὸ κακὸν ἐκκλίναντες, *J. Damaſc.* de Orthodoxa Fide, Lib. 2. Cap. 4.

viſible

viſible Form, the better to *execute* their Divine *Commiſſion* among the Sons of Men. The *evil Spirits*, ſince, as I have obſerved, they be of the *ſame Nature* with the good, we are to conclude, have *Vehicles* of ſome Kind or other, that are inſtrumental in their *Suggeſtions*, *Deluſions*, and *Operations* upon our more *groſs Vehicles* or Bodies. We read of great Numbers exerciſing their *Tyranny* over one *poor Man*; and I could be glad to be informed, Gentlemen, whether it be our *Piety*, or what other *Cauſe* you pleaſe to aſſign, that *ſcreens* us from the *Operations* of the *evil* Part of the *Intellectual World*, at this Time of Day. *Jeſus* aſked him, *i. e.* The *Chief* of that *helliſh* Troop, *What is thy Name?* And he anſwered, ſaying, *My Name is Legion*; *for we are* many. (*Mark* v. 9.) The *Subſtance* therefore of theſe *evil Spirits* (after all the *inconſiſtent* Talk of our preſent wiſe *Philoſophers* about the Nature of *Space*, *Extenſion*, *Immenſity*, *&c.* when apply'd to the *Inviſible World*) muſt be of *another* Nature from thoſe *Subſtances* (how refin'd ſoever) which we are made acquainted with in this *imperfect* State. *Clemens Alexandrinus*, (at the Beginning of the *third* Century) who was a compleat *Maſter* of all Sorts of Learning; and if his Authority may weigh with you, Gentlemen) ſays, That though theſe *evil Spirits* are to be termed *Incorporeal*, as having nothing of that *earthly Subſtance* whereof we conſiſt ourſelves, and which therefore is called *corporeal*; yet, that ſtill *they* have ſomething *analogous* to our *Bodies*; and

 which

which I have already ſtiled *airy Vehicles*, or, in the Language of the Apoſtle, *Spiritual Bodies*. *Clemens*'s Words, or, rather, as they are adopted from *Theodotus*, run thus; " Demons or *evil* " *Spirits* are called *Incorporeal*; not, as though " they had no *Body*: For they have ſome *Form*, " or *Figure*, or *Likeneſs*; (εχει γὰρ καὶ σχῆμα) by " which they have a Senſation of their Tor- " ments; but chiefly, becauſe, when *compared* " with thoſe *Spiritual Bodies* (τῶν σωζομένων " σωμάτων πνευματικῶν) that are *ſaved*, they are " but a *Shadow*, and therefore called *Incorpo-* " *real*." *Syneſius*, who was a *Biſhop* before *Popery* had a Being, (*A. D.* 410.) ſays, " 'Tis " agreeable with Infinite Wiſdom, that the *wic-* " *ked Powers* in the World ſhould be made Uſe " of, as proper Inſtruments to fulfil his Will " and Pleaſure, when he ſees fit. (*a*) Accord- " ingly, when He is minded to puniſh, He " ſometime gives *Commiſſion* to thoſe *evil Spirits*, " that command whole Swarms of *Locuſts*; at " other Times to thoſe, whoſe Office it ſhall " be to cauſe and promote the *Plague* or *Peſti-* " *lence*; at other Times to *thoſe*, who ſhall be " the Inſtruments of *ſubjecting* a People to a " *barbarous Nation*; or a *wicked Prince*; or, " in ſhort, makes *Nature* in general ſubſervi- " ent to all his Purpoſes. —— *Shall there be* EVIL *in a City, and the Lord hath not done it?* (Amos iii. 6.)

(*a*) κακόποιας δυ ἀμεις ἐν κόσμῳ. Epiſt. 57. paſſim alias.

I heartily

I heartily wiſh, Gentlemen, that this Sort of Reaſoning upon the Matter, might obtain *Credit* with you; and that what I have ſaid, might be eſteem'd (what Biſhop *Hutchinſon* calls) a *ſober Belief of Good and Bad Spirits*; and which *is an Eſſential Part*, (he ſays), *of every good Chriſtian's Faith.* Sir *Thomas Brown*, that eminent *Phyſician* of *Norwich*; who, you will readily grant, was a Gentleman of an uncommon Size, in the Knowledge both of *Nature* and *Art*; (I preſume, the Biſhop will not put himſelf upon a Level with him, in that Reſpect) and, as he was very *adroit* in *detecting Errors*; the more ſo, to be ſure, he would have been, where *Life* was concern'd, if *Witchcraft* had been one; happening to attend at the *Aſſizes* held at *Bury* St. *Edmond*'s, *March* 10, 1664: When the well known *Tryal* came on, for *Witchcraft*, before Sir *Matthew Hale*, then Lord *Chief Baron*: (After *Evidence* given) there was a mighty *Deference* paid to his Judgment, both by *Judge* and *Jury*, in being dedeſir'd to give his Opinion in *open Court*: And upon view of the *Three* Perſons, he gave his Opinion in the Words following, (*a*) *viz.* "That he was *clearly* of Opinion, that the "Perſons were *Bewitched*; ſaid, that in *Den-* "*mark* there had been lately a great Diſcovery "of *Witches*; who uſed the very *ſame Way*

(*a*) See Sir *Matthew Hale*'s Treatiſe, touching *Sheriffs* Accompts, &c. Printed for *D. Brown*, 1716.

" of afflicting Perſons, by conveying *Pins* in-
" to them, and *crooked* as theſe *Pins* were,
" with *Needles*, and *Nails*. And his Opinion
" was, That the *Devil*, in ſuch Caſes, did
" work on the *Bodies* of Men and Women;
" upon a *natural Foundation*, that is, to *ſtir*
" up, and *excite* ſuch *Humours*, ſuper-abound-
" ing in their Bodies, to a great Exceſs; where-
" by that Infernal *Spirit* (or his *Agents*) did
" in an Extraordinary Manner afflict them with
" ſuch *Diſtempers* (*a*) as their Bodies were
" moſt *Subject* to; as particularly *appeared* in
" theſe Children: For he conceived, That
" theſe *ſwooning* Fits were *Natural*, and no-
" thing elſe but what they call the *Mother*;
" but then *heightened* to a great Exceſs, by
" the *Subtilty of the Devil, (or his Agents)*
" *co-operating* with the *Malice* of theſe, which
" we term *Witches*; at whoſe *Inſtance*, he, (or
" his *Agents*) do theſe Villanies." We ſee here, Gentlemen, in a few Words, not only the *Phyſician*, but the *Philoſopher*, and the *Divine*, in my Opinion, happily *conjoin*'d: I wiſh, you might think ſo too. Pleaſe to compare his *Philoſophy*, with what the *Biſhop* has given us in his *firſt Chapter*; where he endeavours to account for very many Caſes of *Witchcraft*, by the Help of *Nature*, and *Art* only; and is of Opinion, that we need not, in *any* Caſes of *Witchcraft*, have Recourſe to the *Agency* of

(*a*) See Page 14, in the following Letter.

Spirits,

Spirits. I'll forbear being tedious; and, before I take my Leave of you, will ſay ſomething of the *Divinity* Part, which the *Biſhop* has given us in his *twelfth* Chapter. The *Philoſophical* Account from *Nature* join'd with *Art*, it muſt be ſaid, often makes one *Merry*: I could wiſh the *Scotch Advocate* had likewiſe been made *Wiſer* by the *Clergyman*'s doing the *beſt he could* for the poor Woman (lying in *Jail*, under Suſpicion of *Witchcraft*) without the Aſſiſtance of any *Divinity* at all. There is a great deal of the *Epilepſy*, *Poſture-maſter*, *Slight* of *Hand*, &c. in which, we may venture to ſay, *Judge* and *Jury* would not be *deceiv'd* at this Time of Day, ſhould you not ſucceed in your *Repeal.* The *Queſtion* is gravely put, Why ſome Perſons fall into an Agony, if there be a *Cat* in the Room, though they do not ſee her? The *Scotch Advocate* anſwers, but is not ſuffer'd to *diſtinguiſh*, or to make any other Sort of *Philoſophical* Reply, than that *ſome* Scent, *or ſecret* Communication *of* Spirits, *is the common Ground of all ſuch* Antipathies; and conſequently, is the *Reaſon* why the *Cat* in the Room, has ſometimes that Effect of People's falling into an *Agony.* To urge the poor Woman's Caſe farther, in her Behalf, he reminds the *Scotch Advocate*, that a *Woman* may, many Ways, grow *naſty*, have ſome rank unſavoury Smell, that may grow to an *Antipathy* to *others*, &c. or there may be *natural Fits*, and *Vapours*, which, his *Lordſhip* aſſures us, if they continue, will alter the Habit of the Body, in ſo ſurpri-

zing

zing a Manner, that they will ſometimes even *think* themſelves *Dead*; at other Times repeat Prayers or Chapters, or ſpeak their Fancies in Verſe: Nay, (*what Sir* Thomas Brown, *the* Phyſician, *you are to ſuppoſe, knew nothing of, or at leaſt to as little Purpoſe, as Lady* Oſborn *in her* Weekly Packet, *not knowing how to make a right Application*) in a deep Fit of *Melancholly*, he puts his *Scotch Advocate*, and *Juryman* in Mind, that ſuch *diſorder'd* Perſons ſhall *think* (*not that they are Dead, as before*) but think themſelves *Glaſs*, or a *rotten Stick*, or *Kings* and *Queens*, or even *God* himſelf; which laſt, perhaps, you'll allow, borders *a little too much upon Witchcraft, as it ſmells too ſtrong of a proud* Luciferian *Impulſe*). 'Tis hence, ſays the Reverend *Prelate*, that we come to have ſo many *Apparitions*, and *Spectres*, and *Sights* of Perſons, who are at *home*, (*a*) at that Time about their lawful Occaſions.

The Right Reverend Author aſſures us, That he has been credibly informed, that the *Organs* of our *Speech* ſhall be ſo altered by *Vapours*, that a Man, ſitting in his Study (*as we'll ſuppoſe*) and often hearing *Hogs* grunting under his *Window*, began at laſt to *grunt* like them himſelf; and that another would *crow* like ſome *Cock-Chickens*: Nay, 'tis well *known*, ſays his Lord-

(*a*) His Lordſhip, I preſume, never read St. *Auſtin*, whom you'll find quoted in the following Letter, more than once, to this very Purpoſe.

ſhip,

ſhip, that, upon the Bite of a *mad Dog*, the Perſon ſhall *bark*, and *think* himſelf a *Dog*, and *lap* inſtead of Drinking. He deſires, it may be farther obſerved, how *ſtrong* they are in ſuch a *diſordered* Condition; that, when the fixed *Spirits* are kindled into a rapid Motion, *Three Men* ſhall hardly hold any *one* of them; and if they happen to give a *Skip*, they ſhall *throw* themſelves to a great Height or Length. He would have it obſerved farther, when they have *convulſive* Motions eſpecially, that they ſhall draw their *Mouths* all on *one Side*, and (*like an arrant Poſture-Maſter*) ſhall wring their Arms out of Joint, turn their Eyes inward, and make themſelves lamentable Spectacles. His Lordſhip ventures to affirm, in a more particular Manner, (*which probably Sir* Thomas Brown *would have put among his Vulgar Errors*) that if *Blood* be extravaſated *ſlowly*, the *Heat* of the Stomach, in a little Time, may form it into *odd Figures*; which, when they are vomited up, ſhall ſeem very Surprizing: Or, if the Stomach has received any *Seed* or *Spawn*, (*ſuppoſe after eating a* Lobſter, *or Supping upon* Caviere *and a* Toaſt) the Heat and Nourihment may *produce* the *Animal*. As to *Pins*, *Needles*, and *Nails*, his Lordſhip would have all *Surgeons*, as well as others, take it from him as an undoubted Truth, That, though they have been ſwallowed long before, they have been known to work their Way to the *outward Parts* of the Body, and to have been taken out of the Perſons *Thighs* or *Sides*: (*And therefore not improbable*,

probable, in a Caſe of pretended Witchcraft, that Pins or Needles, &c. ſhould work out of the Stomach, and thence be taken out at the Mouth) His Lordſhip's *Juryman*, who came to *adviſe* with the *Parſon* of his Pariſh, (who otherwiſe are taken for *Conjurers* themſelves, though here it proved a Miſtake) and who thought, at firſt, that he was ſummoned upon a very *Difficult* Point, (as he acknowledges himſelf) begins to take Courage upon ſuch *Advice* as this, and *chimes* in with his *Miniſter*, by Way of Improvement upon *ſuch* philoſophical Topicks. —— *Why truly, ſays the Honeſt* Juryman, Phyſicians *meeting with* theſe Things *in their Practice, it may be the* Reaſon *why they ſay, that ſuch Perſons give leaſt Ear to Stories of* Witches. However, he tells his *Miniſter, all* thoſe *undoubted Facts* (as the *Juryman* calls them) that are told in *Hiſtory*, are not to be *ſet aſide* without further Satisfaction than he had yet given him —— What's to be done *then*, Gentlemen? The *Clergyman* proceeds; we have a great many other Matters to conſider of; *(no doubt as weighty as the former)* Too many go ſuch *Lengths* in their *Diſtempers*, as to *manage* them in a very *wicked* Manner, and to *counterfeit* Symptoms that their *Diſeaſes* did not occaſion. Though the *Clergyman's Charity* begins now to be called in Queſtion by the *Juryman*, yet the Matter is made fully to *appear* thus —— In the firſt Place *Mahomet* did it: And then, the *Maid* of *Kent*, and, in all Probability, the *Surrey* Impoſtor (*not the Rabbit-Woman of*

Godalmine

Godalmine of famous Memory). There was a Work of *Nature*, an odd *Diſtemper* for the *Foundation*, (*ſo far, Gentlemen, the Biſhop and Sir Thomas Brown agree, you obſerve*) and upon that they *grafted* ſuch Practices, as *deceived* great Multitudes; *managing* their Calamity to ſerve their own *Intereſt*, or *Party*, or *Paſſion*, or *Humour*: And when ſome *cunning Fellow*, who has a Body fit for it, falls into this *wicked* Way, it is hardly to be *believed*, how they can *diſtort* their own Bodies. (*And is not this enough to make them paſs for Wizards, eſpecially if, at Night, the Candles ſhould have burnt dim or blue, when ſuch a cunning Fellow is playing his Tricks?*) I have read many Inſtances of ſuch *Raſcals* in *ſober* Authors, *&c.* It is common with ſome of them, by *long holding* of their Breath, to throw themſelves into *real Fits*, when they will: By often moving and *ſtretching* (*doucement mon cher Eveque*) the Skin of their Heads, if the Hair be *ſhort*, they can make it ſtand *upright* like an angry Dog; and then they will *bark* and *ſnarl* (*like a Clinch of Barnet*); nay, run upon *all Four*, (*which you'll ſay is wonderful*) as if they were changed into *Maſtiffs*: They can even *ſwallow* their *Tongues*, *foam* at the Mouth, and put their *Arms*, *Legs*, or *Back-bones* out of Joint. (*Do you not take it for* CONJURING, *Gentlemen, or* DEALING *with ſome* FAMILIAR SPIRIT, *when you ſee an impudent Fellow, at this* VERY JUNCTURE, *in one of your Play-houſes* (*as I am inform'd*) *whilſt you are carrying on the grave Debates*

about WITCHCRAFT, *enabling himſelf* (ſome how or other) *to Dart his Body, in that ſtupendous Manner, between the ſeveral* Rounds *of an ordinary* LADDER; *and, after placing his Head upon the* TOP *of it, coming down, without any* viſible *Aſſiſtance, in like Manner?*) They can *huff* up their Bellies, *ſuck* up their Breath, and *draw* in their Gtus, till the By-ſtanders may *feel the Back-bone.* (*Doucement, Encore. I profeſs, Gentlemen, I am perfectly Ignorant, whence our Right Reverend, got all this* KNOWLEDGE, *or where his* SOBER AUTHORS *are to be met with*): Indeed he informs us of one, once of his *own Pariſh*, that he knew to be an *honeſt Man*, (*and therefore could not deal with a* FAMILIAR SPIRIT: *But then*, his *Lordſhip* ſays, This *honeſt Man* was able to thruſt a *Pin*, up to the *Head*, in a hollow Place of his Arm, without Bleeding; and he aſſures us (*in which I can give Evidence myſelf*) that others can *change* their Voices ſo, that they ſhall not be like their *own*: Nay, they can do it ſo cleverly, their *Lips* hardly moving, as if the *Voice* (ſays he) came from their own *Fundament*: (*Witneſs the late Jeſuitical* Blackſmith, *ſome where about* Leiceſter Fields). Cardinal *Mazarin*, (*notwithſtanding all his* POPERY) to ſtop the *growing Evil*, ſays his Lordſhip, of the *Accuſations* of *Witches*, in 1634, *threaten'd* ſome of thoſe reputed *Witches* with ſevere Puniſhments. (But this *Offence*, you are now taking Notice of, will, to the great Joy of many of the old Women, be made *none at all*; and, if we are rightly in-

form'd

form'd *without Doors*, the *whole* Affair of *Witchcraft* is be to diſcarded, as a Relict of *Popery*, without any Diſtinction made, as to the *ſober Belief of good and bad Spirits*; which is acknowledg'd by our Author, to be an *Eſſential Part* of every good Chriſtian's Faith). And when this Affair of *Witchcraft*, was laid before the *Univerſity* of *Montpelier*; (an Affair purely of a *Religious Nature*, abſtracted from the *Civil Puniſhment*; and, if I might aſk; what, if the *Concurrence* of an *Engliſh Convocation* had been had, in making ſuch a *General Repeal?*) one Queſtion propos'd, was this, ſays the *Biſhop*, "Whether Barking or Crying like "a Dog, that ſeem'd to come from the *Fun-* "*dament*, rather than the *Throat*, was a ſure "Sign of a *Demoniack.*" And the Anſwer which the *Univerſity* gives, is (and I hope it will be conſider'd of in a favourable Manner, ſince they were profeſs'd *Papiſts*, in the *Preamble* of your *Bill*); "That human Induſtry, "can go ſo far in Imitation, that it is ſeen "every Day, that Perſons Learn to Imitate, "in great Perfection, the *Way*, the *Cry*, the "*Note*, of all Kind of Creatures; and do it "ſo, as one ſhall perceive no Motion in their "*Lips.*

It would be inexcuſable to trouble you any longer, *Gentlemen*, with this Way and Manner of *decrying Witchcraft*; and I'll venture to Propheſy, *ſuch* Sort of *Arguing* will not be made uſe of in your *own Learned Debates* upon the ſame Subject. I therefore chuſe

to proceed, in conſidering his Lordſhip's *Scripture Account* of *Witchcraft*; whence you may juſtly *expect* to find more Satisfaction in the Affair you are about. Now, in his 12th Chapter, he gives you this Account (you know) of the *Divine Laws*, relating to *Witchcraft*, *i. e.* to any Sort of *Communications* with, or *Operations* upon the *Intellectual*, and *Corporeal World*; (for ſo, I ſuppoſe, the *Queſtion* will be conſider'd in your *two* Houſes, if any *Debates* ſhould *happen* to ariſe about it.) His Lordſhip ſets out, in declaring, That 'tis a *Point* of *very great Difficulty*, (and therefore, I am in Hopes, an *abſolute* Repeal of the *Statute* will not paſs without *ſome* Difficulty likewiſe): "Nor will he pretend to make himſelf *Um-*
"*pire:* But this he pretends to do, *viz.* To
"*offer* ſome few Things, that he thinks are
"*manifeſt*, and may keep us from preſſing too
"hard againſt our Neighbour's *Lifes.*" I ſhall beg Leave Humbly to *offer* ſomething likewiſe to your *diſcerning* Judgments, as to the ſame Affair; and, if *afterwards* any Thing may be thought wanting, to give you full *Satisfaction*, I will not *quit* this *Chapter* of the *Biſhop*'s, till, in my own *private Judgment* at leaſt, I have *given* it you: And I think it the more Reaſonable for me to do this, as well on Account of the *Witch* of *Endor*'s being ſuffer'd by the Almighty to have ſuch a *Communication* with the *Intellectual World*; as alſo on Account of thoſe *other Appearances*, and *Communications*, that are treated of in the following

Letter;

Letter; many of which happen'd ſome Ages after *Chriſtianity* was eſtabliſh'd, and want no Authority to ſupport the Truth of them, without having Recourſe to Mr. *Glanvil*, or any *Modern* Authors. *Grotius*, in his Note upon *Exodus* xxii. 18. *Thou ſhalt not ſuffer a Witch to Live*, obſerves, That the *ſame Word* is uſed by the Lxx. *Greek* Interpreters, in their Interpretation of the *Hebrew*, that St. *Paul* uſes, (*Gal.* v. 20.) where he forbids *Witchcraft*. Our Learned *H. Ainſworth*, obſerves farther, that the *Greek* Word uſed by the Lxx ſtands alſo in the *Plural* Number, (φαρμακὺς) implying, that though *Witchcraft* is moſt in Uſe among that Sex, yet, that the *Man-Witch*, or *Sorcerer*, is included. And the *Hebrews*, ſays he, Remark thus: (*a*) "Whoſoever is guilty of Death, "the *Judges*, that *do not* put him to Death, "they break an *Affirmative* Precept, but Tranſ-"greſs not againſt a *Prohibitive*, ſaving of the "*Witch*: For, if they put not him to Death, "they Tranſgreſs a *Prohibition*." The ſame Learned *Annotator* ſays, in another Place (*Ex.* vii. 11.) That *Sorcerers* or *Witches*, are ſuch Perſons as Bewitch the Senſes and Minds of Men; by changing the Forms of Things to another *Hue*. From the *Hebrew*, *Caſhaph*, (which ſignifies *changing* or *turning*) the *Greeks* have form'd their Βασκαίνω, and the *Latines*, *Faſcino*, which is to *Bewitch*; and is uſed for

(*a*) Maimon in *Sanhedrin*, Cap. 14. Sect. 3.

unlawful

unlawful deviliſh *Arts* and *Artizans*, ſuch as God's (*Judicial*) Law condemneth, and puniſheth with *Death*. St. *Paul* (2. *Tim.* iii. 8.) ſets down the *Names* of the *Chiefs* in *Sorceries*, as they were kept in the *Jews private Records*: And from *Pliny* we learn, (*a*) that the Memory of theſe *Sorcerers* continued among the *Heathens*, though their Names were *corrupted*. *Origen* againſt *Celſus*, (*b*) ſhews how *Numenius*, a *Pythagorian* Philoſopher, ſpeaketh of *Moſes*'s Miracles in *Egypt*, and his Reſiſtance by *Joannes*, and *Mambres*, Magicians. *Apuleius* alſo, a *Latin* Philoſopher, (*c*) mentions one *Joannes*, among the chief Magicians. If *Epiphanius* (as quoted by a truly Excellent, Learned, and Judicious *Engliſh* Biſhop, (*d*) may be heeded by you, Gentlemen, in this Affair: He tells us, from one that was an Eye-witneſs, of a *Magical* Operation, uſed by a *Jew*, to procure the Love of a *Chriſtian* Woman; and that ſhe was preſerved from the δυναμις φαρμακειας, (the ſame Word that St. *Paul* uſes, (*Gal.* v. 20.) from the *Power of his Witchcraft*, by the Seal of *Chriſt*, (as he calls the *Sign* of the *Croſs*) wherewith ſhe fortify'd herſelf, at the firſt Attempt made upon her. (*e*) Such wicked Wretches, ſays Biſhop *Patrick*, did a World of other Miſ-

(*a*) *Nat.* Hiſt. L. 30. C. 1.
(*b*) *Lib.* 4.
(*c*) *Apol.* 2.
(*d*) Biſhop *Patrick*, on *Exod.* xxii. 18.
(*e*) *Eph. Her.* 30. 7. 8.

chief

chief, and therefore were to be *put to Death*, whether they were Men or Women. One of the *Hebrew Doctors*, as quoted by the Biſhop, gives this Reaſon why *Witches* were not to live, *viz.* "Becauſe they directly thwarted God moſt "Bleſſed, who made all Things, when he cre-"ated them, for ſuch and ſuch Purpoſes; which "they perverted, and by Devices of their own, "made to ſerve other Ends, which God never "deſigned." But this they could not do, ſays the good Biſhop, without the *Help of evil Spirits*; and therefore their Crime conſiſted in entering into a *Familiarity*, ſays he, and a League with them, whoſe Aſſiſtance, upon ſuch Occaſion they invoked; which was in Effect, a *renouncing* of God. This was an Impiety, goes on the *venerable* Prelate, which had overſpread the whole World, eſpecially the *Eaſtern* Parts of it. And, as for the *Romans*, we find a *Law*, as old as the Twelve Tables, againſt *Witchcraft*; and the like Law obtained amongſt the *Athenians*: For the *Greeks* were extremely addicted to it; eſpecially in *Theſſaly*. I need not inform you, Gentlemen, (and I am ready to ſuppoſe it) what the *Sin* is, in the very *next* Verſe to *this*, that I have choſen to ſet in its full Light; and which in its *Puniſhment* is ſtill juſtly *Capital* in the Eye of our Law. The *Statutes* are both taken from the Judicial Code of the *Hebrews*, which we often make our *Example*, in framing our Laws. The *latter* Sin is ſo infamous, and ſuch a Diſhonour to Nature, and the Author of Nature (as the Biſhop, from

Corn.

Conr. Pellicanus, gloſſes upon it) " That it was " not fit ſuch a Perſon ſhould live upon the " Face of the Earth, but *die* without Mer- " cy. (*a*)

Pray tell us, Gentlemen, in your *Preamble*, why the *Puniſhment* ſhould not be proportionable to the *Offence*, if it be a *real one*, as I am willing to think, you take it to be; and which my Lord Chief Juſtice *Hale*, and other great Lawyers, do all acknowledge to be an *Offence* immediately againſt the *Divine Majeſty*? Be pleaſed to conſider, if your *Zeal* has not carried you too far, whether there has not been (and how ſoon it may be *again*, the wiſeſt cannot tell) as unqueſtionable Evidence for *Familiarity* held by *human Kind* with *Spirits*, tho' *inviſible*, as there has been for *that* between *Man* and *Beaſt*? Whether it be reaſonable (even as to the *Puniſhment*) to *repeal* the *one* Statute rather than the *other*? And whether what you are ſo doing, be not in Contradiction to the *Legiſlature* of the *wiſeſt* Kingdoms on Earth? My Lord Chief Juſtice *Hale* certainly thought ſo, when he *directed* the *Jury*, after the Tryal of *Witches*, already taken Notice of, " That there " were ſuch Creatures as *Witches*, he ſaid, he " made no Doubt at all, and *that* for theſe *two* " *Reaſons*; For *firſt*, the *Holy Scriptures* have " affirmed ſo much. *2dly*, The *Wiſdom* of all " Nations (whatever the *more-knowing* Biſhop

(*a*) *Exod.* xxii. 19.

" has

" has alledged to the contrary) had provi-
" ded *Laws* againſt ſuch Perſons, which is an
" Argument of their *Confidence* of ſuch a
" *Crime:* And ſuch has been the Judgment
" of *this* Kingdom; as appears (*ſince the*
" *Times of Popery*) by that *Act* of Par-
" liament, which hath proved *Puniſhments*
" (ſays that great Man) *proportionable* to the
" Quality of the *Offence.*" And no *Judge* ever better enforced the Obſervance of a *Law*, than he did, in thoſe unexceptionable Words —
" *For to condemn the Innocent, and to let the*
" *Guilty go free, are both an Abomination to*
" *the Lord.*"

If I might not grow troubleſome, Gentlemen, I would now proceed in juſtifying *Samuel*'s *Appearance* at *Endor*; which, perhaps, you may not judge *fully* enough ſpoken to in the following Letter; and I chuſe rather to do this, both becauſe it will beſt ſerve to *remove* ſome Objections, that may poſſibly remain with you, taken from Biſhop *Hutchinſon*'s 12th Chapter; as alſo to repel the *low Wit* and *Raillery*, ſuch as Mr. *Webſter* the *Phyſician*, and others have diſplay'd in their Diſcourſes upon *Witchcraft* in general.

I have not, in the following *Letter*, taken Notice of Biſhop *Patrick's* Opinion of *Samuel*'s *Apperance*; which I ſhall now do — and, tho' I have thought proper to *differ* from that *Great* Man in ſome Things relating to *it*, (which I muſt now, Gentlemen, humbly ſubmit to your penetrating and *Impartial* Judgment) yet we ſhall be *both* found, in the main Point, ſufficient, I

 hope,

hope, to enervate Biſhop *Hutchinſon*'s *Scriptural Notions of Witchcraft.* (*a*) Biſhop *Patrick* then, ſays upon the Matter thus; "Interpreters are "very much divided, (*b*) ſome imagining, it "was *Samuel* himſelf that *appeared*; others, a "*Spectre*, which, by the Power of the Devil, "*appeared* in his Likeneſs. Several of the "Ancient Fathers are of the *former* Opinion, "and particularly *Juſtin Martyr*; who, in his "Dialogue with *Trypho* the *Jew*, alledges *this* "as a Demonſtration of the *Immortality* of the "Soul; and moſt of the *Roman* Church are "now of the ſame Mind: But *Tertullian* ſays, "(*c*) *God forbid, we ſhould believe the Soul of "any Holy Man, much leſs of a Prophet, ſhould "be brought up by the Power of the Devil.* "Of this Perſuaſion are a great Number of the "Ancients, particularly St. *Cyril* of *Alexan-*"*dria*; who thinks it the greateſt Abſurdity "to believe, that a wretched Woman ſhould "call up *Samuel*'s Soul; the *Demons*, with "whom ſuch People deal, having no ſuch Pow-"er. And ſo St. *Jerom* calls this *Samuelis* "*Phantaſma.* Yet there are vaſt Numbers of "modern Authors, who think, that, by God's "Permiſſion or Diſpenſation, the *Soul* of *Sa-*"*muel* might *appear*;" (*cloathed in ſome proper Vehicle*) which Sir *John Marſham* himſelf

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(*a*) See the following *Letter* from p. 24 to 42, *&c.*

(*b*) See his Comment on 1 *Sam.* xxviii. 12.

(*c*) Lib. de *Anima*, Cap. 57.

takes

takes not to be improbable. (*a*) But the very Letter of the Text *ſeems* to me to be againſt this Opinion, which ſpeaks of bringing him up, and his coming up out of the *Earth*; whereas, if it had been *Samuel*, he ſhou'd rather have *come down* from Heaven. This *Apparition* therefore (*as I take it*) was one of thoſe *fallacious Spirits*, whom *Porphyry* ſpeaks of, (*b*) "who "put on any Shape, and counterfeit the Gods "and Demons and the Souls of the Dead." Which a very learned Perſon (*c*) hath confirmed by this Reaſon, which to me ſeems very ſolid, *viz.* that ſince God was not pleaſed to anſwer *Saul* (as he confeſſed) either by Prophets, or by Dreams, or by *Urim* and *Thummim*, but had withdrawn himſelf wholly from him; it is not probable, that he would ſend *Samuel* himſelf to *him* from the Dead, (and none elſe could do it) and that at the Call of a *Witch*; when he wou'd not favour him with any *Revelation* from a Living Prophet, or any other Way.

The learned Dr. *H. More*, contemporary with Biſhop *Patrick*, appears, from ſome *Letters* of his, preſerv'd amongſt the *Papers* of one of his Ingenious *Correſpondents* deceas'd, and from thence *lately* publiſh'd, to have had to do with ſuch Adverſaries of *Witchcraft*, who by their Writings had openly diſavow'd their *Belief* of

(*a*) See his *Chron.* Canon XIII.
(*b*) Lib. 2. de *Abſtin.*
(*c*) *John Wagenſeil*, Confut. Carm. *Lipmani.*

Spirits,

Spirits; (*a*) and had, moreover, to ſupport their *Notions*, ventured to *Appeal* to the Holy *Scriptures* themſelves; and *that* with plauſible Arguments and *ſeeming* Abilities, in their *Criticiſms* and *Interpretations* of *them*; the better to ſeduce the *unwary*, and to gain the greateſt Number of *Proſelytes*. Now, what ſays the learned Dr. (Gentlemen) to theſe Things? He does (in a Poſtſcript) firſt of all obſerve, as to the Words *Witch* and *Wizard*, that, in the primary or natural *Notation* of them, they ſignify no more than a *Wiſe* Man or a *Wiſe* Woman; (*b*) which occaſions Biſhop *Hutchinſon*, in his *Scriptural* Account of *Witchcraft* (*c*) " to make this *ſhrewd* " Obſervation, *viz.* One may be pretty ſure, " that the *Law* (*Exod.* xxii. 18.) was not, *Thou* " *ſhalt not ſuffer a Wiſe Woman to live.*" And the good *Biſhop*, inſtead of *comparing* and *conſidering* the various *Texts*, as they ſtand in the *Original*, (where the *Words*, relating to *Witch*, *Wizard*, *Sorcerer*, &c. occur, and plainly ſhew us, that both the *Literal* and *Metaphorical* Import of the *Words* are to be regarded by us) is pleaſed to amuſe his Reader with *various Tranſlations*; which I don't ſee, can poſſibly do his *Cauſe* any *real* Service, but rather the contrary. And I can, moreover, affirm, from *Tindal*'s

(*a*) Mr. *Webſter* in particular, in his *Diſplay of Witchcraft*.

(*b*) *Ælfricus* in his *Saxon Grammar*, reads it *Wicca Ariolus*: inde Wiſlian, ſays he, *incantare*, vid. *Skinner*, in voce.

(*c*) Cap. 12. p. 183.

Tran-

Tranſlation revis'd by *Mathews* 1551, now lying before me, (if *they* may be allow'd to know any Thing of the *Hebrew* Text) that the Words are " *Thou ſhalte not ſuffre a Witch to live.* " But the *Biſhop* does not ſee, he ſays, if we " take the *Original* Words, or the *Tranſlations* " which Way we will, that we can venture to " lay *much Weight* upon them. " How then? A *Witch*, ſays he, (*literally underſtood*) is no more than a *knowing* Woman — *Weet* (in the Saxon) to *Know*, anſwering exactly to the *Latin* Word *Saga*, according to *that* of *Feſtus*, SAGÆ *dictæ Anus quæ multa ſciunt.* But *Uſe*, queſtionleſs, appropriated the *Word* to ſuch a Kind of Skill and Knowledge, as was out of the common Road, or *extraordinary.* Nor did this Peculiarity imply in it any unlawfulneſs. But there was after, a further Reſtriction, and moſt proper of all, and in which alone, now a Days the Words *Witch* and *Wizard* are uſed; and that is, for one that has the *Knowledge* or *Skill* of doing or telling Things in an extraordinary or *præternatural* Way; and *that* in Vertue of either an expreſs or implicit Sociation or *Confederacy with ſome Evil Spirit.* This is a true and adequate Definition of a *Witch* or *Wizard.*

The Words of *Scripture* generally deſcanted upon, in Oppoſition to the eſtabliſhed Notion of *Witchcraft*, are, *Deut.* xviii. 10, 11. *There ſhall not be found among you any one that uſeth* Divination, *or an Obſerver Times, or an* Enchanter, *or a* Witch, *or a Charmer, or a Conſulter with* Familiar Spirits, *or a* Wizard, *or a* Necro-

Necromancer. Now when *Saul* ſays to the *Witch* of *Endor*, *Divine unto me, I pray thee, by the Familiar Spirit*, or by the *Python*, &c. (1 *Sam.* xxviii. 8.) (*a*) the ſame Word is uſed for *Divining* in both Places; the *comparing* of which Places *only*, ſhew the Word *Divination* muſt be underſtood, as implying one Sort of *Witchcraft*, or an *Operation* ſurpaſſing *natural* Knowledge or *human* Sagacity. Your Patience, Gentlemen, I fear, will not allow me to dilate and apply, as Dr. *H. More* does, upon this Subject; and therefore ſhall ſtudy *Brevity*; though I don't think it *always* good, as the *Poet* ſays it is; eſpecially, where *Divine Truths* are to be cleared up in the ſtrongeſt Manner. Some, who have *inſulted* over the *ſuppoſed* Ignorance of our *Engliſh* Tranſlators, when they render the *Original* (*Menacheſh*) *Enchanter*, only ſhew, that they wanted that *Learning* and *Judgment*, which the *others* had. *Charming* and *Enchanting* are acknowledged by them to be all *one* in the Original *Import* of the Words; and therefore here the Word (*Menacheſh*) may properly denote ſuch Perſons as kill Serpents by their *charming*, from the Word (*Nachaſh*) which ſignifies a *Serpent*; from whence comes (*Nicheſh*) to *kill* Serpents, or make away with them. For a *Verb* in *Pihel*, obſerves Dr. *More*, has ſometimes (eſpecially when it is formed from a *Noun*) a *contrary* Signification. For Inſtance, the ſame Word uſed

(*a*) קסומי־נא לי באוב.

for

for *he ſinned*, ſhall alſo ſometimes ſignify, *he made Satisfaction for Sin*; and ſo here from the Word (*Nachaſh*) a Serpent, is made or rendered *He delivered from Serpents*, i. e. either by killing or driving away by *Enchantment*. And therefore there ſeems to have been a great deal of Skill and Depth of Judgment in our *Engliſh* Tranſlators, in this Reſpect; eſpecially when that of *Augur* or *Soothſayer*, which the Lxx call οἰωνιζόμενον (there being ſo many *harmleſs* Kinds of it) might ſeem leſs ſuitable with this *black* Liſt. Our old *Engliſh* Tranſlators read the latter Part of the 11th Verſe thus, *That counceleth with Spirites, or a Propheciar, or that asketh the Advyce of the Dead. All that do ſuch Things are an Abhomynacyon unto the Lorde.* Now, to rid Serpents by a *Charm*, is above the Power of Nature; and therefore an Indication of *one* that has the Aſſiſtance of ſome *Inviſible Spirit*, to help him in *this*, as well as other Inſtances of *Witchcraft*.

As to the Word (*Mecaſſeph*) which our Old *Engliſh* Tranſlations (as I have taken Notice already) render *Witchcraft* or *Witch*; 'Tis to be obſerv'd, the Words in (*Deut.* xviii. 10 11.) do all contain but *ſeveral* Denominations of a *Witch*; who may have ſeveral more *Properties* than *one* Name intimates: Whence it is no Wonder, that *Tranſlators* do not render them always alike. But, (as in our *Common*

(*a*) מכשף.

Law)

Law) ſo many *Names* for this End are reckon'd up here in this Clauſe of the *Law* of *Moſes*, that the Sence may be more ſure, and leave no Room for *Evaſion*. And, indeed, had our *Statute* of 1 *Jac.* (now going to be *Repeal'd*) no Manner of Foundation from *that Judicial* Law to ſupport it; I muſt entirely agree with you, Gentlemen, that the Continuance of it would be juſtly interpreted a *Law* of extreme *Severity*, or, rather, *Cruelty*; to puniſh with *Death* a *poor Hocus-Pocus Vagrant*, that has, you know, a proper Puniſhment allotted him already by the *Common Law*; whilſt *Endorian Witches* are now to be left as *free* (if I am rightly inform'd) by this *Repeal*, in doing real *Miſchief* from the *Intellectual World*, as the *Lancaſhire* ones (according to the *Engliſh* Proverb) are ſaid to do *it* naturally in the *Material*.

Dr. *More* obſerves, in his *Poſtſcript*, that our witty *Diſplayers of Witchcraft* are very much *miſtaken* in their Writings about *it*, as often as they pretend to give us the Meaning of the *Original* Words (*Shoel Obh*) which our *Engliſh* Tranſlation, at this Day, renders a *Conſulter with Familiar Spirits*. (*a*) The Lxx. have render'd it a *Ventriloquiſt*, or one, whoſe Words ſeem to come from the Bottom of his Belly: (*b*) And therefore, according to *their* rendring of it, the Words in the *Hebrew* muſt neceſſarily ſignify him that has this *Familiar Spirit*; and

(*a*) *Deut.* xviiii. 11. (*b*) ἐγγαστρίμυθος.

con-

conſequently the Words (*Shoel Obh*) are to be underſtood of the *Witch*, or *Wizard* himſelf, that aſks *Counſel of his Familiar*; and does, by Vertue of him, give *Anſwers* to others. Dr. *More* thinks it probable, that the Reaſon of the *Name* of the *Hebrew* Word (*Obh*) might be taken *firſt* from *that Spirit*, which was in the *Body* of the Party, and *ſwell'd* it to a *Protuberancy*, like the Side of a Bottle: But *afterwards*, ſays he, without any Relation to *that Circumſtance*, the Word (*Obh*) came to ſignify as much as *Pytho*, (as the Word *Pytho* itſelf, though at *firſt* it took its Name from *Pythii Vates*, came *afterwards* to ſignify no more than a *Spirit of Divination* in general, a *Spirit* that tells *hidden Things*, or Things to *come*. The Words *Obh* and *Pytho* do alſo agree in this; that they both ſignify, either the *Divinatory* Spirit itſelf, or the *Party* that has that *Spirit*. But *here*, in the Words, (*Shoel Obh*) they being render'd by the Lxx. a *Ventriloquiſt*, (*a*) *Obh* is neceſſarily underſtood of the *Spirit* itſelf, as *Pytho* in the xvith of the *Acts*, ver. 16. if we read as *Iſ. Caſaubon* does, (πνεῦμα πύθωνα). But if, πύθων, it may be underſtood *either* Way. It is ſaid, " St. *Paul* being " grieved, turned, and ſaid to *that Spirit*, *I* " *Command thee*, *in the Name of* Jeſus Chriſt, " to come out of her, (*b*) and became out at " the ſame Hour;" which ſignifies as plainly as

(*a*) ἐγγαστρίμυθον. (*b*) ἐξελθεῖν ἀπ' αὐτῆς.

any Thing can be ſignify'd, that this *Pytho*, or Spirit of Divination, or this *Obh*, was in her: For, as the *Spaniſh Proverb* has it, *Nothing can come out of the Sack, that was not in the Sack:* Nor could this *Pytho* come *out* of her, unleſs it was a Spirit *diſtinct* from her. But, what *Prophaneneſs*, mix'd with the moſt conſummate *Impudence*, do ſome of the *Free-Thinkers* of this laſt Age diſcover, when they talk of *this Paſſage* in the *Sacred* Writings; not ſcrupling to make this *Pytho*, in the *Maid* there mention'd, nothing but a *wicked Humour* of Cheating, and Couzening Divination; and adding, that this Spirit was no more caſt out of that *Maid*, than the *Seven Devils* out of *Mary Magdalen*; which they would have to be underſtood, *only* of her ſeveral Vices? This ſurely can be call'd nothing leſs than *Blaſpheming* againſt the *Spirit* of *Chriſt* in St. *Paul*, and St. *Luke*.

'Tis plain, in the Caſe of the *Witch* of *Endor*, that the *Original* Word (*Obh*) ſignifies, both the *Spirit* itſelf that *divines*, and *him* or *her* alſo that has *it*. *I pray thee Divine unto me by the Familiar Spirit*, ſays *Saul*; *by* the *Pytho or* באוב. 'Tis by the Lxx (as I have obſerved already) render'd, ἐν τῷ ἐγγαστριμύθῳ, *i. e.* by *that Spirit* that ſometimes goes *into* the Body of the Party, and thence gives *Anſwers*. Here, indeed, in the *Moſaick* Law (already ſpoken to, *Deut.* xviii.) *it* only ſignifies a *Familiar Spirit*. (*a*)

(*a*) We have no one Word adequate, in the *Engliſh* Language, to expreſs *fully* the Meaning of the Word אוֹב.

But,

But, ſay *Saul*'s Servants, " Here is a *Woman* that hath ſuch a *Spirit* — there the Word (*Obh*) muſt needs ſignify both the *Spirit* itſelf, and the Woman of *Endor* that was the Owner or Poſſeſſor of it. I dare not entertain the leaſt Thought, Gentlemen, that you have any of the *Free-thinking* Qualities, that are ſo prevalent, at this Time of Day, in Relation to *Subjects* of this Nature; and muſt believe, that, in the *Preamble* of your Bill (which I have not ſeen) you have taken all poſſible Care to guard againſt the Suggeſtions of a *cenſorious* Age; by *ſupporting* the *Chriſtian Doctrine*, and declaring to the World, (as Biſhop *Hutchinſon* does to his *Right Honourable Chiefs*) *That the* ſober *Belief of Good and Bad Spirits is an* eſſential *Part of every good Chriſtian's Faith.* However, it muſt be ſaid, the *contrary* Temper is too obvious amongſt us *without Doors*; and this has induc'd me to trouble you in ſuch a Manner; though, I now hear, what I have to offer, comes *too late*, and there ſeems no other *Reaſon* poſſibly to be aſſign'd for it, but, that my unknown *Printer ſides* with the *Majority*, in *procraſtinating* the Birth of this little Pamphlet. Such has been the *Prophaneneſs* of ſome Writers againſt *Witchcraft* in the laſt Age (particularly as to the *Sacred* Paſſage now before us) that, inſtead of a *Familiar Spirit*, they would have the *Hebrew* (*Bagnalath Obh*) to have no *other* Meaning, than that *Saul*'s Servants directed their Maſter to a *Miſtreſs* of the *Battle*. (Such a Place, where the daily *fatal Rendevouſes* are, amongſt ourſelves, call'd the

Gin-Shops.) Who, (ſays Dr. *More*) but the *Maſter* of the *Bottle*, or, rather, of whom the *Bottle* had become *Maſter*, and made his Wits exceſſive *muddy* as well as *frothy*, cou'd ever ſtumble upon ſuch a *fooliſh* Interpretation? Becauſe the Word, (*Obh*) forſooth, ſays the Dr. in *one* Place of the *Scripture*, ſignifies a *Bottle*, it muſt therefore ſignify *ſo* here; and it muſt be the *Inſtrument* too, out of which this cheating *Quean* of *Endor* (as the Writer *ſharply* expreſſes himſelf) *did whiſper, peep, or chirp like a Chicken coming out of the Shell.* (*a*) And did *ſhe* not, I beſeech you (ſays Dr. *More*) put her *Nib* alſo into *it*, (the *Bottle*) ſometimes; as tis ſaid of a certain *Bird*, when, by putting her *Nib* into a *Reed*, ſhe *cries* like a *Butter-bump*? certainly ſuch a *witty-two-Edged-Sword Writer* might as well have interpreted thoſe Words (*Bagnalath Obh*) of the great *Tun* of *Heidelberg*, (that *Tom Coriat* takes ſuch ſpecial Notice of) as of the *Bottle.*

I will detain you no longer, Gentlemen, even ſhou'd you have Patience to read thus far; it may, perhaps, lead you on to go farther, and to *read* what the *Lady* has been told likewiſe in the following *Letter*, writ ſome Years ago. A late noble *Duke* (and, I hope, his Illuſtrious *Deſcendant*, will now have ſome Regard to the *Words*) was thus *addreſs'd* by an ingenious Pen, in hopes of having a *Chriſtian Prin-*

(*a*) *Webſter*'s Diſplay, p. 129, 165.

ciple

ciple better defended againſt the *Sadducean one.*
" I know, my *Lord*, the *Eſſay* is *ſeaſonable*,
" and contains Things which relate to our *big-*
" *geſt* Intereſt; the Deſign being to ſecure ſome
" of the *Outworks* of *Religion*, and to regain
" a Parcel of Ground, which *bold* Infidelity
" hath invaded. And I cannot but obſerve
" *ſadly*, that, whilſt the *Sects* are venting their
" *Animoſities* againſt each other, and ſcribling
" for their *Conceits*, and the *particular Advan-*
" *tages* of their Way; they don't perceive,
" that *Atheiſm* comes on by large *Strides*, and
" enters the *Breaches* they have made; and
" which *they are ſtill endeavouring to make*
" *wider, if they can.* Sober and conſiderate
" Men ſee the *formidable Danger*, and have
" as ſtrenuouſly endeavoured, and ſtill en-
" deavour to *maintain the Walls*, while the Fac-
" tions within are known to be *very buſy*, and
" ſo *divided*, that they cannot attend the *deſ-*
" *perate Hazard*, and will not *joyn in a com-*
" *mon Defence.* I have tried to make *good* one
" of the *Forts*, upon which the Enemy has made
" *impetuous* Aſſaults, and hope for Succeſs. I
" am very *little* concerned for the ſmall *Ped-*
" *laries*, that ſome Mens *Fondneſs* calls *Reli-*
" *gion*; by which that ſacred Thing has been
" expoſed to a great deal of *Contempt* and *Diſho-*
" *nour.* But yet, my Lord, I think it my Du-
" ty to have a *Zeal* for thoſe great and certain
" Matters, upon which our *Hopes, as to the*
" *other World, are grounded.* The *Evidence*
" that is given us from the *Attributes* of God,

the

" the *Phænomena* of *Providence*, and the *Nature*
" of our *Souls*, ſhould be ſufficient to convince
" *any*, but thoſe who will *ſtupidly* believe, that
" they ſhall die like *Beaſts*, that they may
" *live like them.* There are ſome *Arguments*
" that contain very plain *Evidence* concerning
" *Witches* and *Apparitions* ; but then, as they
" require an *unbiaſſed* Way of *Thinking*, and
" ſome Degree of *Attention*, 'tis not to be
" wonder d at, if they take no Hold upon the
" *whiſtling* Spirits, that are not uſed to *con-*
" *ſider.*

" My *Lord*, if we make our *compute* like
" *Men*, and do not ſuffer ourſelves to be abuſed
" by the *Flatteries* of *Senſe*, and the *deceitful*
" *Gaieties*, that ſteal us away from *God*, and
" from *ourſelves:* There is nothing can render
" the Thoughts of this *odd* Life *tolerable*, but
" the Expectation of *another.* And wiſe Men
" have ſaid, that they would not live a *Mo-*
" *ment*, if they thought they were not to *live*
" *again.* This, perhaps, ſome may take to be
" the *diſcontented* Paradox of a *melancholick*,
" *vex'd*, and of *mean* Condition, that is *pinch'd*
" by the *Straitneſs* of Fortune, and envies the
" *Heights* of others Felicity and Grandeur :
" But, by that Time thoſe, that they judge ſo,
" have ſpent the *Heats* of *frolick* Youth ; and
" have paſs'd over the ſeveral *Stages* of Vanity ;
" when they come to ſit down, and make *ſober*
" Reflections upon their *Pleaſures* and *Purſuits*,
" and ſum up the Account of all that is *with*
" them, and *before* them ; I doubt not, but

" their

" their *conſidering* Thoughts will incline them " to make *Solomon*'s *Concluſion*; and find, that " 'tis but a *Miſery*, if we were to *live* for " *nothing elſe*.

Whilſt we are paſſing thro' this *Vale* of *Miſery*, Gentlemen, may no *evil Angels be ſent amongſt us* to diſturb our *Temporal Peace*; may the Almighty rather *give his good Angels Charge over us*; *to keep us in all our Ways*; ſo ſhall *no Evil happen unto us*; *neither ſhall any Plague come nigh our Dwelling: Our Fruit ſhall not be given to the* Caterpiller, *nor our Labour to the* Graſshopper: *The Enemy ſhall not be able to do us Violence*; *nor ſhall the Son of Wickedneſs hurt us.* This ſhort Prayer (never, perhaps, more *ſeaſonable* than at preſent) is founded upon that undoubted Truth, which the *Royal Pſalmiſt* has laid down (*Pſalm* xxxiv. 7.) *The Angel of the Lord tarrieth or* encampeth *round about them that* fear *him.* I am,

GENTLEMEN,

Your Obedient Humble Servant.

Piſteuo-Daimon.

POST-

POSTSCRIPT.

GENTLEMEN,

IT would be highly obliging, and much for the Satisfaction, not only of your *Electors*, but of *Thouſands* beſides: If you would pleaſe (ſome Way or other) to communicate your *Reaſons*, for bringing in your Bill; by anſwering the following ſhort *Queries*;

I. Whether *Puniſhments* ſhould not be Proportionable to the Nature or Quality of the *Offence*?

II. Whether *Witchcraft*, and *dealing with Familiar Spirits*, was not, by the *Judicial* Law of *Moſes*, an *Offence* immediately againſt the *Divine Majeſty*?

III. Whether all *wiſe* Nations (as Lord Chief Juſtice *Hale* told the *Jury*) have not Proceeded hitherto upon the Foot of that *Judicial Law*, in providing proper Puniſhments of ſuch *Offence*?

IV. Whether our *own Judges*, at preſent, have not as great *Abilities* for diſcovering an *Impoſtor*, and *well* executing the *Law* in the *late Statute* of 1 *Jac.* C. 12. (ſhould there have been Occaſion for it) as any of thoſe

wiſe

wiſe Nations, in the Execution of their *Laws*?

V. Whether there be any *Reaſon* to be aſſign'd, why the *Judicial* Law againſt *Witchcraft*, &c. ſhould not *ſtill* be in *Force*, as well as *that* againſt *Buggery*, *Exod.* xxii. 19.?

VI. What Reaſon there can be, for more *Tenderneſs now*, in puniſhing an *Offence* with *Death*, where the *Honour* of the Almighty is manifeſtly concern'd, than there was, during the *Jewiſh* Diſpenſation, and hath been *ſince*?

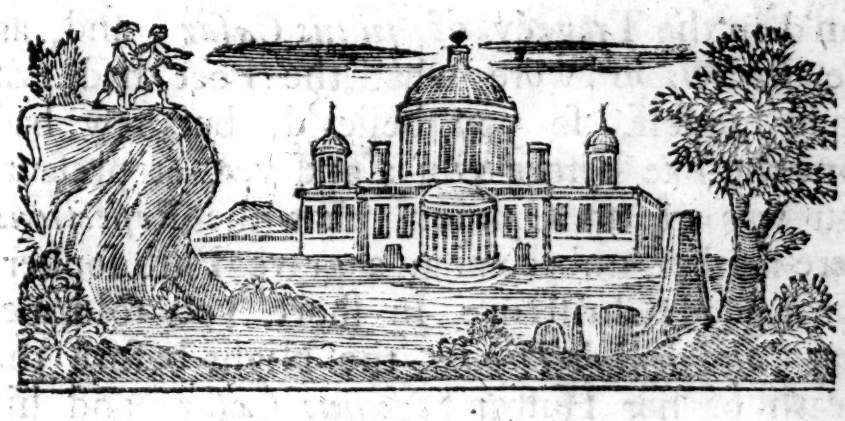
GENTLEMEN,

I will not be troubleſome in putting any more *Queries* —— You may convey your *Reaſons* to us in any obſcure Manner, you ſhall condeſcend to do it *in* —— We ſhall not much mind the *Canal* or *Conduit*, by which they come to us; and it will be no ſmall Satisfaction to know *them*, ſhould *they* happen (as very likely they will) to *croſs* our own *private Judgment*. Only believe, that at *preſent* our *Scruples* are *ſtrong* upon us *without Doors*; however *merry* you may have made yourſelves about SPIRITS in St. *Stephen*'s Chapel. We are afraid, that, by taking away the *Puniſhment*, you may have left the *Doctrine* to *ſhift* for itſelf in Peoples Minds; had we not (as *Proteſtants*) our *Bibles* to ſupport *it*. Beſides, we are under no ſmall Concern, leſt our *Chriſtianity* at *Home* may, even in this Reſpect, have a *worſe Name* given

 it,

it, than *it* has hitherto had, *Abroad.* We are not ignorant, how eaſy and faſhionable it is to act the *Droll*, in laughing at the Stories of *Witches* and *Apparitions.* The ſolemn *Vanities* of *Superſtition*, and the *Tales* of *Old Women*, are what moſt of us are no *Strangers* to, and have generally as great an *Averſion* to them: But, Gentlemen, there's a Time (you very well know) to be *ſerious*; and, after all ſuch *affected* Merriments in our Converſation; it ought to be remember'd, That our *Reaſon* ſhould not always be an obedient *Servant* to a *wanton Fancy.* I never yet could obſerve a *Droll* to be a cloſe *Reaſoner*; and *they* often deſerve our *Pity* more than an *Anſwer*, when they ſometimes attempt to make a *Juſt Inference.* Of all our *Faculties*, our *Judgment* ſeems to be of the *ſloweſt* Growth; which is the Reaſon, in many Things, when Age and Experience has ripened *it*, that we are ſaid to grow *wiſer*; eſpecially in Matters of *real Moment*: Whilſt, for Want of due Attention to *Men* and *Things*, there may ſometimes be found *Grey* Hairs diſcovering *Boyiſh* Imaginations. And when our Imaginations grow *looſe*, and know no Bounds, we ſoon find ourſelves *apt* to launch out, and to treat the *ſacred Page* itſelf, too often, in a *ludicrous* Manner. In ſhort, This increaſes our *Fears*, *Gentlemen*, and makes us the more ſollicitous for aſking your Aſſiſtance; in anſwering the *forementioned Queries*, and in reconciling the *ſeeming* Difficulties with *ſound* Reaſoning and the *Word* of God.

F I N I S.



MADAM,

WHEN I had laſt the Honour of waiting on you, I found you full of Thought; your Elbow gently reclin'd on the inimitable *Shakeſpear*. I ſoon gueſs'd (what you was pleaſed to tell me) that you had been converſing very lately with that Gentleman: For your Imagination was hard at Work; the Ideas which the Poet had convey'd were ſtill ſtrong and lively; and the Pleaſure and the Pain, ſeem'd to have taken their Turns, and to have made a very deep Impreſſion.

I remember my Curioſity ſoon grew troubleſome, and you as kindly ſatisfied it, in letting me know, that it was very true —— you was full of Thought; and, as you eaſily imagin'd, the Intenſeneſs of it was not to be conceal'd: But aſſuring me withal, that the *Paſſions* had nothing to do in the Matter; that you had been re-

flecting upon a Piece of the *Roman* Story contain'd in the Tragedy of *Julius Cæsar*; and, as the *Reflections* were what the Poet had not made himself, so you believ'd, but few had done the like before you; and yet, at present, you was of an Opinion, that the *Reflections* were neither unbecoming a grave Philosopher, nor a good Christian: In short, you told me, that *Calphurnia*'s *Dream*, the Night before the Death of her Husband *Julius Cæsar*, and his *Appearance* afterwards to *Brutus* in the Fields of *Philippi*, was what had engrossed your Thoughts, and occasioned such Reflections: For, as you believed those Passages were no *Fiction* of the Poet, but *Facts* well supported in History, so you as firmly concluded, that the Almighty had not been such a Stranger to the *Heathen* Part of the World, as might generally be conceived; that such *Communications* were to you convincing, that He had all along been, not only the God of the *Jews* but of the *Gentiles* also; and that there were *ministring* Spirits at *Rome* and *Athens*, as well as at *Jerusalem*; to execute his Will, to reward and to punish in such Manner, as might best serve the Ends of the great Governor of the World.

I then took the Liberty of reminding you, (and you seem'd to take it with Pleasure) of another *Heathen* Lady, *Pilate*'s Wife; a Lady, though in Quality inferior to *Calphurnia*, yet, in other Respects, much superior; for she *saw* the Redeemer of Mankind in Person, about fourscore Years after the Death of *Julius Cæsar*;

and

and yet did not *truly ſee* Him as *ſuch* neither, till ſhe ſaw Him as that *juſt one* in a *Dream*. It was the *ſame* infinite Being, I likewiſe obſerved, that permitted *Julius Cæſar's Appearance* to *Brutus* at *Philippi*, as did *Samuel's* to *Saul* at *Endor*, though, probably, in a different Manner. *Saul* and *Brutus* much reſembled one another in their Deaths; as being their own Executioners. —— *Saul ſaid to his Armour-Bearer, draw thy Sword and thruſt me through.* —— But *Saul took a Sword, and fell upon it* [a] And you told me quickly, Madam, what *Brutus* ſaid to *Strato*, *Hold then my Sword, and turn away thy Face, while I do run upon it*: *Saul* and *Brutus* were both preſs'd hard by the Enemy; and why might not *Saul* then, you ſaid, in Regard to the *Appearance* at *Endor*, ſpeak as *Brutus* did? —— *O Samuel, Thou art mighty yet, thy Spirit walks abroad, and turns our Swords in our own proper Entrails.* You proceeded, Madam, in making a Reflection upon what had paſs'd, very juſt and *à Propos*, which was, that ſince the *Tranſition* was ſo eaſy and natural from profane to ſacred Hiſtory, and 'twas evident from both, that *Dreams* and *Viſions*, whether in the Heathen or Chriſtian World, were derived and to be accounted for, from one and the ſame Almighty Power, you had often wonder'd, why there ſhould be that *Heſitation* or *Difference* made (too obſervable in the preſent Age) in

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[a] 1 *Sam.* xxxi.

giving Aſſent to theſe Things; or why *Livy*, *Plutarch*, *Suetonius*, and other Heathen Writers, that you had often heard quoted upon theſe Subjects, ſhould find Credit upon much eaſier Terms, than the Writers of the Old and New Teſtament. All that I then reply'd, was, that there were too many (and ſome who made great Pretences to Learning too) who paid but little Regard to the Writers under *either* Denomination, ſacred or profane, when they talk'd of *Dreams* and *Apparitions*; ſuch Paſſages being rather made the Subject of thin Wit, and overflowing Raillery, than any ſober Debate, or ſerious Enquiry about the Truth of them: However, I was much pleaſed to find, I was then addreſſing myſelf to a Perſon *truly Chriſtian*, without the leaſt Mixture of the *Sadducee*; and, that Philoſophy, good Senſe, and a hearty Concern for, and Regard to *Divine Revelation*, had ſo far prevail'd, that I perſuade myſelf, 'tis your fix'd Reſolution, neither to ſubmit your Reaſon to the Caprice and Humour of any *Bel Eſprit* whatever, nor ſuffer yourſelf to be argued or laughed out of your Religion, either by the *ſly Deiſt*, or *noiſy Free-Thinker*. And, indeed, you ſoon gave me farther Proof of this: For we had ſcarce quitted the Plains of *Philippi*, and left off talking of *Julius Cæſar*'s *Appearance*, but your Thoughts were carried to one of the ſublimeſt Paſſages in the Goſpel, led to it by the former Diſcourſe: *Moſes* and *Elias appearing* to three Diſciples at once, was, you ſaid, a Scene full of Wonder and Love; that you

then

then beheld it with an Eye of Faith, and hoped hereafter to have the ſame Sort of Knowledge (whatever it was) which *Peter*, *James*, and *John* then had in the Holy Mount: I begg'd Leave to obſerve, that our Saviour's *Tranſfiguration*, with the ſeveral Circumſtances attending it, is generally thought to point out to the Law and the Prophets, as all referring to and *terminating* in Him, as alſo to comfort the Diſciples againſt his approaching Paſſion, and to give them ſome Reſemblance of his ſecond Advent, when He *ſhould come in the Glory of his Father, with the Holy Angels*: Theſe were the great Ends unqueſtionably, that were ſerv'd in that *Appearance* on the Mount; and though that *Appearance* was extraordinary, yet your Inference, I think, was ſtill juſt, *viz.* That as the Souls of Men have been *ſometimes* ſummoned back from the other World to this; ſo there may be ſtill many weighty Reaſons in every Age of the Chriſtian Church, why *Apparitions* ſhould not wholly *ceaſe*. To this I added, that 'twas very certain, both *good* and *bad* Angels, do now, as formerly, ſerve the Purpoſes of an all-wiſe and infinite Being. There are *miniſtring* Spirits, and *Powers* of Darkneſs; we are put in Mind, to wreſtle with the *one*, and to expect Aſſiſtance from the *other*: And when God is pleaſed either to appoint or to permit it; theſe created Beings not only communicate by *Dreams* and *Viſions*, but are enabled to cloath themſelves with ſome *Ætherial* or *Aerial* Subſtance, and to aſſume the Likeneſs of

of Souls that are departed and gone to their eternal Reſt; though the Manner of it be as much above the Reach of Man's Underſtanding, as the *Union* of his own Body and Soul is. I was going on, when, I very well remember, you ſuggeſted, that, though it was not to be doubted, but thoſe cœleſtial Beings did intereſt themſelves in the Affairs of this ſublunary World, and ſuch Execution of the divine Will and Pleaſure is probably what we are to underſtand by *Providence*; yet there remained a *Scruple* with you, (which you hoped I would ſoon remove) as, whether ſince the Eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity, *Appearances* from the other World may be expected or allowed of, upon any Account whatever; and whether it does not ſeem to be forbidden in the Parable given by our Saviour of *Dives* and *Lazarus*, where we are bid to *hear Moſes and the Prophets* in Oppoſition to ſuch *Appearances*. You well know, Madam, I had then little more to reply, than that I thought we ought to be very cautious in *preſcribing Laws* to the Almighty; eſpecially in an Affair, where in all Ages *before* the Eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity He has ſo remarkably diſtinguiſh'd his Wiſdom and Juſtice in the Government of the World. I had the good Luck, at the ſame Time, to recollect a Paſſage out of St. *Auſtin* in his *Treatiſe about taking Care of the Dead*, where (notwithſtandiug what ſome of great Name have thought to the contrary) he ſays, it argues nothing leſs than *Impudence*, for Fleſh and Blood to reaſon about the Proceedings

ceedings of the great Creator in ſuch a Manner, as, *when*, and for *how long a Time* He ſhall pleaſe to depute from the other World, Meſſengers of his Will and Pleaſure to be perform'd in *this*: And as to the remaining Part of the Objection you made from our Saviour's Parable, I deſired, you would well obſerve at your Leiſure, what a remarkable Difference there is in the Manner of our Saviour's expreſſing himſelf: For, when *Abraham* returns his Anſwer, he does not ſay, or give the leaſt Hint, that ſuch who have departed this Life either *cannot* return, or that it has not been *uſual* for them ſo to do: Whereas, he is very poſitive and explicit, when he tells *Dives*, that *there is a Gulph* fixed, ſo that they which would paſs from hence to you *cannot*; neither *can* they paſs to us that would come from thence. But the Anſwer given is, *They have Moſes and the Prophets, let them hear them*; and great Reaſon there was for ſuch an Anſwer: For you may obſerve, Madam, *Lazarus*'s being *raiſed from the Dead*, had no very great Effect among the ſtupid *Jews*; and if *Appearances* from the other World were once *common* among ourſelves, we might, perhaps, grow as inſenſible as they: But then, 'tis by no Means a juſt Conſequence to ſay, that therefore the Almighty neither *will* nor *does* act that Way at all *ſince*; or that the *good* Angels *never* have it in Charge, nor the *bad* ones ever permitted to *communicate* with this lower World, by *Dreams* and *Viſions*, or any *other Way*. Nor can the Belief of this be any Ways inconſiſtent

ent with *Abraham*'s Anſwer to *Dives*; for the Concluſion, which we all ought to make from it is, that *the Revelation which God has made to Man, contains all the ſureſt Marks of Truth for eſtabliſhing our Faith, as well as the ſtrongeſt Motives for our Obedience; and that therefore no greater Evidence can, or ought to be required, than what God has already given.*

This, I think, Madam, was the Subſtance of the Diſcourſe you was pleaſed to indulge me at that Time. I am now, according to your Requeſt, to ſay ſomething *more particular* of the ſeveral *Texts* of Scripture, which then occurr'd in Converſation; and, withal, to ſet the Whole in the beſt and cleareſt Light I can, by the concurrent *Teſtimony* both of the Heathen and Chriſtian World, concerning the Matters then diſcourſed of in *general* only; by this Means, you was pleaſed to ſay, you ſhould be able to ſatisfy yourſelf and others in ſuch Points; and that afterwards, none ſhould have it in their Power to charge you ſafely with *Superſtition*, without incurring the Cenſure of *Irreligion* themſelves. Give me Leave only to remind you of the Promiſe made me, when I took my Leave, (being no ſmall Encouragement to this Undertaking) that the Length of my Letter ſhould be a *Fault* that you would eaſily pardon; and hoped all your Friends would do ſo too.

The Text of Scripture that firſt occurred in Converſation, was *Samuel*'s *Appearance* at *Endor*, occaſioned by the Reflections you was making upon *Julius Cæſar*'s preſenting himſelf at

Phi-

Philippi. I eaſily imagine, Madam, that you ſometimes converſe with thoſe, who object, that ſuch as talk of *Apparitions*, either miſunderſtand or miſapply the Holy Scriptures, or elſe are too credulous in Relations of that Nature; ſo that I may well expect the ſame Uſage from that Quarter, which St. *Paul* met with amongſt the *Athenians*, — *What will this Babler ſay?* I am very ſenſible, that *Truth* will always ſuffer, when the Management of it is in weak Hands; and therefore permit me, before I ſpeak directly to the Text, to ſhelter myſelf under the *Authority* of ſome great Man, in ſhewing, that we are neither engaging in a weak Cauſe, nor doing Diſſervice to Religion, whilſt we talk of *Apparitions* with due *Sobriety*, and in the Manner ſuch a Subject ought to be treated. The *Authority*, I am now going to make Uſe of, is what you may the more aſſuredly depend on, becauſe the Author has for many Years paſt encounter'd Scepticiſm and Infidelity in all its Shapes: His Armour proves impregnable; his Arguments ever unanſwerable. [a] "As for *Apparitions*, ſays that great Man, though there "be much of *Fabuloſity* in theſe Relations, yet "can it not reaſonably be concluded, that there "is nothing at all of *Truth* in them; ſince "ſomething of this Kind has been averr'd in "all Ages, and many Times atteſted by Per"ſons of unqueſtionable Prudence, and unſuſ-

[a] Dr. *Cudworth's Intellectual Syſtem*, Page 700.

" pected Veracity. And whereas the Atheiſts
" impute the *Original* of theſe Things to Men's
" miſtaking both their *Dreams* and their wa-
" king *Phancies* for real *Viſions* and *Senſations*;
" they do hereby plainly contradict one main
" fundamental Principle of their own *Philoſo-*
" *phy*, that *Senſe* is the only Ground of *Cer-*
" *tainty*, and the Criterion of all Truth: For
" if prudent and intelligent Perſons may be ſo
" frequently miſtaken, in confounding their own
" *Dreams* and *Phanſies* with *Senſations*, how
" can there be any Certainty of Knowledge at
" all from *Senſe*? However, they here dero-
" gate ſo much both from *Senſe* and from hu-
" man *Teſtimonies*, as that, if the like were
" done in other Caſes, it would plainly over-
" throw all human Life.

" And therefore others, being apprehenſive
" of this Inconvenience of denying ſo many
" *ſenſible Appearances* and *Teſtimonies* or *Rela-*
" *tions of Fact*, have choſe rather to acknow-
" ledge the *Reality* of *Apparitions*; nevertheleſs
" concluding them to be Things cauſed and
" created by the *Power* of *Imagination* only;
" as if the Strength of Imagination were ſuch,
" that it could not only *create Phancies*, but
" alſo *real ſenſible Objects*, and that at a Diſ-
" tance too from the Imaginers, ſuch as where-
" by the Senſe of others ſhall be for the Time
" affected, though they quickly vaniſh away
" again. From which prodigious Paradox, we
" may take Notice of the *Fanaticiſm* of ſome
" Atheiſts, and that there is nothing ſo mon-

" ſtrouſly

" ſtrouſly abſurd, which Men infected with " Atheiſtick Incredulity will not rather enter- " tain into their Belief, than admit of any Thing " that ſhall the leaſt hazard or endanger the " *Exiſtence of a God.* For if there be once " any inviſible Ghoſts or Spirits acknowledged, " as Things *permanent*, it will not be eaſy for " any to give a Reaſon, why there might not be " one *ſupreme Ghoſt* alſo, preſiding over them " all and the whole World. — Even *Democritus* " was convinced, that the Stories of *Apparitions* " were not all *Fabulous*, and that there are not " only Terreſtrial, but alſo Aerial and Æthe- " rial Animals; and that this Earth of ours is " not the only Place peopled and inhabited, or " that all thoſe other vaſt Regions above lie de- " ſert, ſolitary and waſte. Divers of the anti- " ent Fathers, though they agreed not ſo far " with *Democritus*, as to make the *Angelical* " *Beings* to be altogether *corporeal*, yet did " they likewiſe ſuppoſe them to have their cer- " tain *ſubtile*, *ætherial*, or *aerial* Bodies: In " which Reſpect St. *Auſtin* in his 115th Epiſtle " calleth Angels *Æthereos*, and Devils *Aerios* " *Animantes.* —— The Scripture inſiſts very " much upon *Demons*, or *evil Spirits*, and de- " clares it to be one Deſign of our Saviour " Chriſt's coming into the World, to oppoſe " theſe *confederate Powers* of the Kingdom of " Darkneſs, and to reſcue Mankind from the " Thraldom and Bondage thereof. This proves " the real *Exiſtence* of *Spirits*, and that they " are not meer Phancies, and imaginary Inhabi-

 " tants

" tants of Mens Brains only, but real Inhabi-
" tants of the World. We call them *Wizards*
" and *Magicians*, who aſſociate and confederate
" themſelves in a peculiar Manner with theſe
" evil Spirits for the Gratification of their own
" Revenge, Luſt, Ambition, and other Paſſions.
" Now, beſides the Holy Scriptures, there has
" been ſo full an Atteſtation given to *them* by
" Perſons unconcern'd in all Ages, that thoſe
" our ſo confident Exploders of *them* in this
" preſent Age, can hardly eſcape the Suſpicion
" of having ſome hankering towards Atheiſm.
" As for *Demoniacks*, — We may learn from
" the Writings of *Joſephus* in many Places,
" that by *them* was not to be underſtood Per-
" ſons very *ill affected* in their Bodies ; [a] For
" he declares it as his Opinion, that by *Demons*
" were to be underſtood the *Spirits* or Souls
" of wicked Men deceaſed getting into the Bo-
" dies of the living ; and therefore the *Jews* in
" our Saviour's Time were not at all ſurprized
" with his caſting out of Devils, it being uſual
" for them alſo to *exorcize* the ſame ; an Art
" which they pretended to have learnt from
" *Solomon*. *Joſephus* gives the following Ac-
" count of it ; [b] God alſo taught *Solomon* an
" Art againſt Demons and Devils, for the Be-
" nefit and Cure of Men ; who compoſed cer-
" tain Incantations by which Diſeaſes are cured ;

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a As ſome Perſons now a Days take the Liberty of talking.

b Antiq. Jud. Lib. VIII. Cap. II.

" and

" and left Forms of Exorciſms whereby Devils
" are expelled and driven away; which Me-
" thod of curing prevails much amongſt us at
" this very Day. Notwithſtanding which, we
" think it not at all probable, what a late Athe-
" iſtick Writer has aſſerted, that the Heads of
" the *Jews* were then all of them ſo full of
" Demons and Devils, that they generally took
" all Manner of bodily Diſeaſes, ſuch as Fevers
" and Agues, and Dumbneſs, and Deafneſs for
" *Devils*; nor can we think, that the *Jews* in
" our Saviour's Time either ſuppoſed all Mad-
" men to be Demoniacks, or all Demoniacks
" Madmen (though this latter ſeems to be aſ-
" ſerted by an eminent Writer of our own) we
" reading of Devils caſt out from others beſides
" Madmen, and of a Woman which had a Spi-
" rit of *Infirmity* only, and *was bowed together*
" *and could not lift up herſelf*, which is ſaid
" by our Saviour Chriſt *to have been* BOUND
" BY SATAN: Wherefore the Senſe of the
" *Jews* formerly ſeems to have been this, that
" when there were any unuſual and extraordi-
" nary *Symptoms* in any bodily Diſtemper, but
" eſpecially that of *Madneſs* (this being look'd
" upon as ſomething more than natural) it was
" imputed by them to the Poſſeſſion or Infeſta-
" tion of ſome *Devil*. Neither was this proper
" to the *Jews* only at that Time, to ſuppoſe
" evil Demons to be the Cauſes of ſuch bodily
" Diſeaſes as had extraordinary Symptoms, and
" eſpecially Madneſs; but the *Greeks* and other
" *Gentiles* alſo were perſuaded in like Manner,

" as

" as appears from *Apollonius Tyanæus*, &c. We " have alſo the Judgment of two very expe- " rienced *Phyſicians*, *Sennertus* and *Fernelius*, " that evil Spirits or Demons do at this very " Day *ſometimes* really act upon the Bodies of " Men, and either inflict or augment bodily " Diſtempers and Diſeaſes. [a] 'Tis alſo very " evident, from the Records of credible Wri- " ters, that ſince the Time of our Saviour there " have been Perſons Demoniacal, who have not " only diſcover'd *Secrets*, and declar'd Things " *paſt*, but *future* alſo; and beſides this, ſpoke " in *Languages* which they had never learnt. " The *Phyſician* laſt named gives an Account " of one Demoniack, in whoſe Behalf he and " ſeveral other *Phyſicians* were called in, and " all Manner of Remedies applied, but yet in " vain; and after having given the Reaſon " thereof, he concludes thus — Theſe Things " do I produce, to make it manifeſt that evil " Demons or Devils do ſometimes enter into the " very Bodies of Men, afflicting and torment- " ing them after an unheard of Manner: But " that at other Times, though they do not en- " ter into and poſſeſs their whole Body, yet, " partly by exagitating and diſturbing the pro- " fitable Humours thereof, partly by traducing " the noxious into the principal Parts, or elſe " by obſtructing the Veins and other Paſſages " with them, or diſordering the Structure of

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[a] De Mania L. 1. C. 15. de abditis rerum cauſis.

" the

" the Members, they cauſe innumerable Diſeaſes.
" Thus much I have thought neceſſary to ſay,
" as well for the Vindication of Chriſtianity, as
" for the Conviction of the *Incredulous*; we
" finding ſome ſo ſtaggering in their Religion,
" that from this one Thing alone of *Demoni-*
" *ack*'s (they being ſo ſtrongly poſſeſs'd, that
" there neither is nor ever was any ſuch) they
" are ready enough to ſuſpect, the whole Goſ-
" pel or New Teſtament itſelf of Fabuloſity
" and Impoſture.

And now I perſuade myſelf, Madam, from what this eminent Writer has laid down, that you will not judge *it* an unneceſſary Introduction; and I hope all that I have to offer will be better underſtood, and find an eaſier Admittance into your Cloſet. Let *Samuel*'s *Appearance* then, at *Endor*, be the firſt Thing to be conſider'd; and a ſhort View of the *Context* will, perhaps, lead us to form the trueſt Judgment of it. We find, that, at this Juncture, the Death of *Samuel*, and *David*'s living in a Foreign Land, were the great Calamities that the *Jews* labour'd under. 'Twas this made the *Amalekites* to lift up their Heads, and *Saul* with his People to hang down theirs. *Saul* was in the utmoſt Diſtreſs, and the Enemy ſeem'd reſolv'd ſoon to puſh him in Mount *Gilboa*. 'Twas this occaſion'd the *Night-Viſit* that *Saul* made to the Woman at *Endor*; *he diſguis'd himſelf* ſays the Text [a]: and ſurely taking an-

[a] Verſe 8.

other

other *Habit* was then very proper, conſidering what Affair he was going upon, to *break* a divine *Law*, that was enjoyn'd under the ſevereſt Penalty to his own Subjects; and when, ſhould his *Abſence* have been diſcover'd, it might have made a ſtrong Impreſſion and added to the Confuſion his Army was then in already. He was grown old in Wickedneſs; and God in his Providence had now ſo order'd Matters, that his Puniſhment was near at Hand. *Saul* probably acted the *Politician* before, in obſerving that Law; and did it not out of any real Senſe of his Duty: He might be influenc'd by the Authority and Advice of good *Samuel*, when alive; or he might hope, by the Obſervation of this Law, to appeaſe the Almighty, and that the Sentence might be revok'd, with which *Samuel* had acquainted him, [a] *The Lord hath rejected thee from being King over Iſrael*; 'twas after that Sentence paſs'd, we read the *evil Spirit from God was upon Saul* [b]; and though by the *Charms* of Muſick, when *David* took the Harp, the *evil Spirit departed from him*; yet 'tis not unlikely, but that in this laſt Scene of his Life, the *ſame evil Spirit troubled him*, which, 'tis expreſly ſaid, did ſo, as ſoon, as *Samuel* had anointed *David* to be King in his Room [c]. *Saul* therefore did not hate the Sin; but he was willing ſtill to govern; and ſince he had loſt the Favour of Heaven, was re-

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a 1 *Sam.* xv. 26. b Chap. xvi. c Chap. xvi. 14.

ſolv'd

ſolv'd to ſummon the Powers of Hell[a]: Vain, unhappy Prince! to have Recourſe to ſuch Methods, which his own Conſcience aſſur'd him were diſpleaſing to the Almighty, and conſequently muſt tend to his own Deſtruction: Well might he ſay to *Samuel*, after that the Woman had brought him up, *God is departed from me, anſwereth me no more, neither by Prophets nor by Dreams*: But after ſuch a Speech, how could *Saul* expect any Good from *Samuel*? Or, what other Anſwer could he expect than what *Samuel* gave him—*The Lord hath rent the Kingdom out of thy Hand*, &c. No wonder, that *Saul*, after this, is ſaid to be *ſore afraid, and that there was no Strength in him*: The Stings of a guilty Conſcience were then *doubly* pungent; this World and the next at the ſame Time conſpiring to make *them* ſo: The Wickedneſs of his paſt Life was then ſet before him in the ſtrongeſt Light: The Blood of *the fourſcore and five that wore a Linen Ephod*[b], was then crying for Vengeance in his wounded Soul; a potent Enemy was marching to dethrone him; and, by his own ill Conduct, *David* was become one of the Number. And that which gave the finiſhing Stroke, was, we may imagine, *Samuel*'s bidding him prepare for his ſudden Change.—*To Morrow ſhalt thou and thy Sons be with me*[c]. And what ſhall we ſay to this? Shall *Saul* la-

ſee p. 24.

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a *Flectere ſi nequeam ſuperos, Acheronta movebo.*

b 1 *Sam.* xxii. 18. c Verſe 19.

den with Iniquity go to the ſame Place of Reſt with *Samuel*, or even with his own Son *Jonathan*? By no means: But we are rather to underſtand by this Expreſſion, that *Saul* and his three Sons ſhould be on the other Side of the Grave,* or in a State of Death *to Morrow*, as well as *Samuel*; ſo far they *ſhould be with him*, as to know the Regions of the other World, which they were now Strangers to in this Life; but nothing more, as to the Condition and State of their Souls; *Saul*, no doubt, expected to converſe with the *real* Soul of *Samuel*, and not with any Spectre or Phantom; *Samuel* had done him good Offices, whilſt he was alive; and therefore *Saul* might flatter himſelf, that *Samuel* would aſſiſt him ſome Way or other in this great Extremity. But *wherefore doſt thou aſk of me*, ſays *Samuel, ſeeing the Lord is departed from thee, and is become thine Enemy*? Madam, Obſerve the ſtrange Alteration in *Saul*: When *Samuel* was on this Side the Grave, *Saul* ſlighted his Advice, though commanded by the Almighty to hearken to him; when dead, he's as importunate to have it, though in a *Way* that the ſame infinite Being had forbid, and therefore muſt know, could not be for his good. The Woman's ſudden Exclamation, [a] *in crying*

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* *Hell*, ſays Mr. *Ainſworth*, ſignifies a *State*, where even the *beſt Men* come, &c. See *Gen.* xxxvii. 35. See Mr. *Johnſton* on the *Pſalms*, in the Word *Hell*.

[a] Verſe xii.

out

out with a loud Voice, when ſhe firſt ſaw *Samuel*, implies, I ſhould think, ſomething extraordinary in the *Appearance*, more than ſhe had been us'd to on the like Occaſions; perhaps, by the *Appearance*, ſhe was inform'd, that 'twas her Sovereign who was then applying to her, and was apprehenſive that he *was laying a Snare for her Life*, as ſhe objected to him, when he firſt came to her [a]; which was ſufficient to put her into that *Confuſion*, and to make her ſay, *why haſt thou deceived me? For, thou art* Saul [b]: Or, it may be, *Samuel*'s ariſing out of the Earth might be in a different Manner, and not agreeable with the common Rules of *Necromancy*. 'Tis certain, there is no Sort of *Divination* ſo antient as this; and ſeveral *Heathen* Writers of the beſt Authority aſſure us, that it was commonly practiced in the Eaſtern Parts of the World. When the Woman ſaid, *I ſaw Gods aſcending out of the Earth* [c]; It may poſſibly be underſtood in the Language or Way of ſpeaking peculiar to Perſons of that Profeſſion; though I rather ſuſpect it to be an *honourary* Sort of Speech, in the *Plural* Number inſtead of the *Singular*, in Regard to the Perſon of *Samuel*: For *Saul* immediately ſubjoyns in the *Singular* [d]: *What Form is he of?* And ſhe anſwers in the *Singular* likewiſe, *An old Man cometh up, and he is covered with a Mantle*; and the uſing the *Plural*

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a Verſe 9. b Verſe xii. c Verſe 13.
d Verſe 14.

Number inſtead of the *Singular* upon ſuch Account, often occurs in Scripture; particularly, where *Moſes* is enjoyning Reverence due to Magiſtrates, [a] *Thou ſhalt not revile the Gods.* Upon the Whole, by the Account which the Scripture has given us of this Matter, the Woman of *Endor* ſaw the Form of *Samuel*, but heard no Voice, whereas *Saul* heard the Voice, but ſaw not the Form.

You may now expect, Madam, that I ſhould proceed in making a more particular Enquiry concerning *Samuel*'s *Appearance* at *Endor*; *Endor*, was a Place, we read [b], on the other Side *Jordan*, belonging to the Tribe of *Manaſſeh*; but 'tis ſaid, *the Children of Manaſſeh could not drive out the Inhabitants of thoſe Cities, where their Lot was, but the Canaanites would dwell in that Land.* 'Tis ſaid in the Book of *Judges* [c], that *God would not drive them out, in Order to prove Iſrael, and that the Children of Iſrael dwelt among the Canaanites*, &c. *and they took their Daughters to be their Wives, and gave their Daughters to their Sons, and ſerved their Gods.* Here we ſee the Reaſon of thoſe Laws, which God gave to the *Iſraelites* againſt *Idolatry*, *Witchcraft*, *Divination*, and dealing with *Familiar Spirits.* The *Law* more immediately relating to *Saul* in this Affair at *Endor*, runs thus, — *Regard not them that have familiar Spirits, neither ſeek*

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a *Exod.* xxii. 28. b *Joſhua* xvii. c Chap. ii. 3.

after

after Wizards to be defiled by them: I am the Lord your God. A Man or Woman that hath a familiar Spirit, or that is a Wizard, ſhall ſurely be put to Death, —— or a Charmer, or a Conſulter with familiar Spirits, or a Wizard, or a Necromancer: For all that do theſe Things are an Abomination unto the Lord: And becauſe of theſe Abominations, the Lord thy God doth drive the Nations out from before thee [a]. The Word *Familiar*, though not in the Original, yet our Tranſlators have thought fit to uſe that *Epithet*, ſince we don't ſeem, no more than the *Greeks* and *Latins*, to have any *one* Word expreſſive, or ſufficient to give us any tolerable Notion of ſuch an Operation. St. *Paul* tells us of a young *Pythoneſs*, whom he met at *Philippi* [b], who dealt with a *Spirit* in this *familiar* Manner; and *Origen* in his Diſpute with *Celſus* [c], gives a particular Account of *Pythia*'s Familiarity with ſuch impure Spirits. St. *Chryſoſtom* does the ſame Thing, when he comments upon thoſe Words of St. *Paul* to the *Corinthians* [d], *Ye know that ye were Gentiles carried away unto theſe dumb Idols, even as ye were led.* [e] St. *Chryſoſtom* there tells his Auditors, that if his Diſcourſe on that Subject was not neceſſary, Modeſty would incline him to ſay nothing of ſuch *Familiarity*: For the Woman, that was to *divine*, did firſt

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a *Levit.* xix. 31. xx. 27. *Deut.* xviii, 11, 12.
b *Acts* xvi, 16. c Lib. VII. d 1 *Cor.* xii. 2.
e *Hom.* 29.

of

of all receive the *infernal* Spirit in the moſt impure and filthy Manner, afterwards rav'd and foam'd, and then talk'd like a drunken Woman. The Woman at *Endor* had not only a *familiar* Spirit, but ſhe likewiſe practiſed *Necromancy*, viz. divining from the *Appearance* of dead People, ſummoned for that Purpoſe: For *Saul*'s Requeſt is, firſt, that ſhe *would divine unto him by the familiar Spirit, and bring him up whom he ſhould name unto her* [a]. When ſhe was once *poſſeſſed*, ſhe was then enabled to do the other. The *Hebrew* Writers, when they comment upon this Part of the *Jewiſh* Law, tell us, *That the Perſon deceaſed aſcends between the Legs of the Diviner, and either ſits there or at the Armpits, uttering in a low Voice, as if it came from ſome Cavern or hollow Part of the Earth* [b]. This *Jewiſh* Law, moreover, was ſometimes broke by the Diviner's conſulting with *Images*; among the Heathen, the King of *Babylon* is taken Notice of by the Prophet [c], as *ſtanding at the parting of the Way, at the Head of the two Ways, to uſe Divination: He made his Arrows or his Knives bright, he conſulted with Images or Teraphim, he looked in the Liver.* Theſe *Teraphim*, or Images, were a Sort of Houſhold Gods, of which I don't doubt but you have often read, in *Roman* aud other Hiſtory. *Suetonius* tells us, in the Life of *Nero*, that he always kept

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a Verſe 8. b *Vid. Crit. Sacr.* in *Lev.* xix. 31.
c *Ezek.* xxi. 21.

one

one of these little *Images* by him, and boasted that he knew Things to come by the Advice of such Image; this is less to be wonder'd at, when we read in the Holy Scriptures of *Laban*'s keeping and consulting these little *Images*, which he calls his *Gods*, when he wrongfully taxed his Son-in-Law *Jacob* with carrying them away [a]; and, probably, his Daughter *Rachel* might do it, either to hinder his *divining* which Way she and her Husband were gone, or else by that Means to take her Father off from Idolatry. The *Jews* and others agree, says Mr. *Mede* [b], that these *Teraphim* were small Images made under a certain Constellation, which they used to consult, both in Things doubtful and Things future, supposing they had a Power to this Effect, received from heavenly Influence; much like to *Puppets* made of Wax and like Matter, which our Wizards still use unto like Purposes; and therefore, says the Prophet, [b] *Surely the Teraphims or Images have spoken Vanity, and the Soothsayers have seen a Lye, and the Dreamers have told a vain Thing*. Dr. *Spencer*, in his learned Discourse of the Laws of the *Hebrews*, when talking of these Matters, says, 'Tis not deny'd, but that there were Images of a much larger Size than these Teraphims, that serv'd the same Purpose, by delivering the Answers that their Gods gave: Such he takes it was that famous Statue of

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[a] *Gen.* xxxi. [b] B. I. Disc. 36. [c] *Zech.* x. 2.

Mem-

Memnon, that became *Vocal* when the Rays of the Sun darted on it: But ſince theſe were moſt of them fixed in Temples, or ſome publick Places, and therefore could not be always at Hand, the Heathen invented theſe leſſer Sort, to ſupply the Abſence of the greater [a]. Thus much, Madam, I was willing to obſerve, concerning the *Law*, to which this Tranſaction at *Endor* does more immediately relate; and, I hope, the little that has been obſerved, may give you ſome Satisfaction, as well concerning ſuch as *divine* by familiar Spirits, as alſo by *Necromancy*, or by infernal Spirits that are invok'd and appear *outwardly* for that Purpoſe.

I proceed then to make Enquiry concerning *Samuel*'s *Appearance*; whether *this* was ſubject to the Will and Pleaſure of any Demon, or whether the Almighty thought fit to interpoſe in any *particular* Manner, and to hinder what *Saul* deſign'd, and the Woman was going about, but, perhaps, might not put in Execution. The Text ſays, it was *Samuel*: But was it *Samuel*, riſen from the Dead, with the ſame Body and Soul that were formerly united? Or, was it *Samuel*'s Body only, animated by ſome other immaterial Subſtance? Or, was it *Samuel* with his Soul only, aſſuming ſome *Æthereal* Vehicle? Or, was this a Reſemblance only of *Samuel*, effected, thro' God's Permiſſion, by ſome *Aerial* Demon? As to *Samuel*'s Reſur-

[a] Lib. III. Cap. III. S. 9.

rection

rection with Body and Soul, 'tis not probable, that God would ſuffer it, conſidering all the Circumſtances of the Fact; and as 'tis unlikely that his Body *only*, or the bare Trunk ſhould be made Uſe of in this Affair. Let *Samuel* then be firſt conſidered as to his Soul only —— If we might allow, as the *Romaniſts* do, the Book of *Eccleſiaſticus* to be Canonical, there would be no Room for any Scruple: The Author of that Book (ſo full of excellent Morality) gives an *Hiſtorical* Account of *Samuel*, which we may ſafely admit as Canonical, becauſe we find it all contain'd in the firſt Book of *Samuel:* And after he has recounted the glorious Things done by that great Man, when alive, he adds, as the Concluſion of the Whole, *and after his Death he propheſied, and ſhewed the King his End, and lift up his Voice from the Earth in Propheſy, to blot out the Wickedneſs of the People* [a]. I dare ſay, Madam, you don't think *this Paſſage* induced the antient Fathers of the Chriſtian Church to reckon this Book *Apocryphal*; ſo far from it, that I can aſſure you, many of them are of the Opinion, that it was the *real* Soul of *Samuel* that *appeared* at *Endor*, and ſome of them have quoted that Book for the ſame Purpoſe. So thought *Joſephus* among the *Jews*, *Juſtin* the Martyr, St. *Baſil*, St. *Ambroſe*, and St. *Auſtin*. When I ſay *the Fathers* of the Chriſtian Church, I perſuade myſelf, that you do not ſo underſtand me,

[a] Chap. xlvi. 20.

as if I was tranſgreſſing the Command of our Saviour, who bids us *call no Man our Father upon the Earth*; *for one is our Father which is in Heaven* [a], or that the Expreſſion is uſed by me in the Manner the haughty and ambitious *Jews* uſed it, when they glory'd, one *being of Paul, another of Apollos, another of Cephas* [b]. St. *Paul* was, indeed, eminently a *Father* to the *Corinthians*; and in the ſame Senſe may the Reſt of the Apoſtles be *ſo* called, in Regard to their Inſtructions, and their being, under Chriſt, the great Founders of the Chriſtian Religion. Their Succeſſors, thoſe great Lights of the Chriſtian Church, for Six hundred Years after, have been juſtly thought deſerving the ſame *Appellation*, in Regard to their Piety and great Learning; but, I would not be here miſtaken, as if, under the Notion of *Fathers*, I was for ſetting up an *Infallibility* of Judgment, when I quote theſe Gentlemen. I as much diſlike that Notion, as I do that other, of eſtabliſhing every one's *private Judgment*, attended with ſuch ill Conſequences every Day amongſt us. The Writers, whoſe Authority I am now going to make Uſe of, were Perſons of univerſal Knowledge, and who gave their Opinion with ſingular Modeſty, after much Thought and ſerious Reflection; and (as appears particularly in the Caſe of St. *Auſtin*) if upon a Review they ſaw their Miſtake, they

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a *Mat.* xxiii. 9. b 1 *Cor.* iii.

readily

readily *retracted*; * and, on that Account, they are the more to be rely'd on. In ſhort, the preſent Age does not ſeem to be a Match for them, either in human Learning or Divinity: However, you need not be ſcrupulous here, Madam; for no *Eſſentials* or Points of Faith will be treated of. —— *Joſephus* was born but three or four Years after our Saviour ſuffered; this Man (who may certainly be allowed a competent Judge of the *Jewiſh* Affairs) gives us the Hiſtory of *Samuel*'s *Appearance* much after the ſame Manner as we have it in our Bible; but ſays more particularly, that the Woman at *Endor did not know what Manner of Perſon Samuel was*; *however, ſhe called him up, and was in great Diſorder upon the Sight of ſo venerable and divine a Perſon*; and ſays expreſly, *that 'twas the* SOUL *of Samuel that queſtioned with Saul*; this we have recorded in his Book called *Jewiſh Antiquities* [a]. And this is the Author, Madam, who, though he lived and died a *Jew*, yet ſpake ſo honourably of our bleſſed Saviour. You ſee *Joſephus* is a good Witneſs in the Affair of *Samuel*; and ſo is *Juſtin* the Martyr, who lived not long after the Time of the Apoſtles, and who, in the famous Dialogue between him and *Trypho* the *Jew*, alledges this, *as one Argument of the Soul's ſurviving in another State*; *that*

* I wiſh another *Biſhop* (at this Day) would take the like Method.

a Lib. VI. Cap. XV.

the Witch or Pythoneſs called up the Soul of Samuel at the Requeſt of Saul. And though *Juſtin* is made to ſpeak otherwiſe in a Treatiſe, called *his Anſwers to the Orthodox, concerning the* 146 *Queſtions*, yet that Treatiſe is, on many Accounts, rejected as ſpurious, or, at beſt, muſt be allowed to be interpolated, and many Things father'd upon *Juſtin*, that are none of his [a]. St. *Baſil*, who lived in the fourth Century, writing to his Friend *Euſtathius* a *Phyſician* [b], and taking Occaſion to mention the different Acceptation of the Word God, ſays, *the Pythoneſs, that by her Witchcraft brought up Samuel, ſaid*, that *ſhe ſaw Gods*, &c. And St. *Ambroſe*, who lived alſo in the fourth Century, is very expreſs in his Commentary upon the firſt Chapter of St. *Luke*; where he ſays, *According to the Teſtimony of the Holy Scriptures, Samuel propheſied after his Death.* [c]. St. *Auſtin*, who was Cotemporary with St. *Ambroſe*, ſays, in a Treatiſe that I mentioned to you, Madam, ſometime ago [d], *'Tis evident from the Holy Scriptures, that ſome are ſent from the Dead to the Living, as, on the contrary, that St. Paul was taken up from the Living into Paradiſe: For Samuel being dead, propheſied to King Saul whilſt alive. Although ſome have been of an*

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a See Dr. *Cave's Hiſt. Lit.* b Epiſt. 80.

c *Samuel poſt mortem ſecundum Scripturæ Teſtimonium futura non tacuit.*

d Taking Care of the Dead,

Opi-

Opinion, that it could not be Samuel himſelf, as not ſubject (they imagine) *to the Power of any magick Arts, but was therefore rather ſome bad Spirit, fit for ſuch Work, which aſſumed the Likeneſs of Samuel: Whereas the Book called* ECCLESIASTICUS, *generally aſcribed to Jeſus Syriach, but from the Style and Manner of Writing, is affirmed to be Solomon's, commemorates Samuel, among other Holy Men departed, as one that had propheſied from amongſt the Dead.* After ſuch great Names, Madam, I preſume, you will think it unneceſſary to have the Judgment of *modern* Writers, whether Romiſh or Proteſtant, in this Matter; and I need not obſerve to you, that the Writers, which I have ſet before you, lived *too early*, to be ſtigmatized with the trite and odious Character of being *Popiſhly* affected: And here I can't but obſerve by the By, that every true Member of the *Church* of *England* muſt think, that the Reformation ſuffers, and real Service is done to the *Church* of *Rome*, whenever Popery is ſaid to be found among thoſe glorious Lights of the Chriſtian Church. We do not, we muſt not, refuſe appealing to the *concurrent* Teſtimony of Writers *even* for *ſix* hundred Years after our Saviour, for the Truth of our Religion; and if Chriſtendom could be ſo happy as to agree on a fair Tryal in that Reſpect, and worldly Policy and Grandure not allowed to have any Thing to do in the Matter, Things would then be put upon ſuch an Iſſue, that *Schiſm* in a little Time would have nothing left to ſupport itſelf. Give me Leave

then,

then, rather than trouble you with any more *Authorities*, to make ſome Enquiry, what might probably induce theſe *antient Fathers* to conclude thus about the *Soul* of *Samuel*. They might obſerve in the firſt Place, what is obvious to every Reader, that as often as this *Appearance* is taken Notice of in the Hiſtory, there is no other Name given than that of *Samuel*: 'Tis ſaid, that the *Woman ſaw Samuel* — that *Saul perceived that it was Samuel* — *Samuel ſaid to Saul* — *Saul anſwered Samuel* — And *Saul* was ſore afraid, becauſe of the *Words of Samuel*. 'Tis natural enough to conclude, when *Saul* went to *Endor* upon this Errant, that he himſelf did believe, what he really wiſhed and expected, was come to paſs: There was no Scruple, nor even *Fancy* in him about the Matter; for he *perceived*, which is more than *Fancy*, that it was *Samuel*; and his Reſpects were paid accordingly; *he bowed himſelf*; and, during the Converſation, *Saul* ſays, *I have called thee, that thou mayſt make known unto me what I ſhall do*. If the Book of *Eccleſiaſticus* was writ by *Solomon*, as St. *Auſtin* takes Notice, 'tis no Wonder then, that theſe antient Fathers were of ſuch an Opinion: And who ſo likely to give a juſt Account of the Matter, as *Solomon*, who lived ſo little a Time after 'twas done? And what Reaſon could there be for the Author to extol *Samuel* for his *propheſying after Death*, if an infernal Spirit only *appeared* under the Reſemblance of *Samuel*? Theſe Antients might likewiſe obſerve, that the *Predictions* at *Endor*

were

were extraordinary and very particular, as to *Saul*'s *Sons* and their *dying the next Day*: This was a Sort of Knowledge they knew was above the Reach of any *infernal Spirit*; for ſo the Prophet *Iſaiah* [a], *Let them bring forth and ſhew us what ſhall happen: Let them ſhew the former Things what they be, that we may conſider them, and know the latter End of them; or declare us Things for to come: Shew the Things that are to come hereafter, that we may know, that ye are Gods.* Yet, evil Spirits, by the divine Appointment, may, and often have *declared Things for to come*; but conſidering the ſeveral Circumſtances of this *Appearance* of *Samuel*, the *Fathers* might not think it conſiſtent with the *Miniſtry* of Demons, though 'twas to puniſh a very wicked Man. Beſides, if infernal Spirits, as has been often aſſerted, can neither uſe, nor endure the Sound of the great and venerable Name JEHOVA, this might furniſh *them* with another ſtrong Argument for concluding as they did; that *Name* being ſo often repeated in the Hiſtory. The *Commiſſion*, they might think, was too *ſolemn*, and the Subject too *divine* for a *Demon* to be concerned in—*The Lord*, ſays *Samuel*, *has done for himſelf, as he ſpake by me*—*The Lord hath rent the Kingdom out of thy Hand*—*Becauſe thou obeyeſt not the Voice of the Lord*; and if it was not *Samuel*, but a *lying Spirit*, to what Purpoſe (they might

[a] Chap. xli.

argue)

argue) or what Occaſion was there for that *Lye*, when *Samuel* ſaid to *Saul*, *Why haſt thou diſquieted me?* And, *the Lord ſpake by me.* And though the Souls of the Righteous are ſaid to be in *Peace* and at *Reſt*, yet it might be no Objection to *theſe Fathers*, that *therefore* it was not *Samuel*, becauſe he complains that he was *diſquieted and brought up* from the Place where he was before in Joy and Felicity; *they* might conclude, God appointed this, as he had often done before and ſince, in Regard to the Souls of innocent and good People: They knew the *Soul* was often *brought back*, and ſuch *Diſturbance* given as quitting the Manſions of Bliſs; and whether ſuch Souls are *called back* to their *proper Bodies*, or whether they are ſummoned hither without the *real* Body, is not the Objection here; but whether God might appoint the Soul of ſo good a Man as *Samuel* to be *diſturbed*? This, I ſay, might be no Objection to *them*: They knew very well, that the *Soul* was *brought back* to the Widow's Son at *Zarephath* [a]; to another, upon the *Body*'s touching the Bones of *Eliſha* [b]; they knew the *Diſturbance* given to the Soul of *Jairus*'s Daughter [c]; to that of the Widow's Son at *Nain* [d]; to that of *Lazarus* who had been buried four Days [e]; to that of *Tabitha* at *Joppa*, a *Woman full of good Works and Alms-deeds which ſhe did* [f]; and to the Souls of a great

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a 1 *Kings* xvii. b 2 *Kings* xiii. c *Mat.* ix.
d *Luke* vii. e *John* xi. f *Acts* ix.

many

many good People at one Time, *when the Graves were opened, and many Bodies of Saints which ſlept aroſe, and came out of the Graves, and went into the Holy City, and appeared unto many* [a]. And though, Madam, the *Appearance* at *Endor*, is deſcribed as of one *aſcending out of the Earth*, yet thoſe Primitive Writers might ſtill think *that* no Objection to the Reality of *Samuel*'s *Appearance*, but rather conſiſtent with the Scripture Account, in other Places, of Souls departed hence; and I can, moreover, aſſure you, that thoſe Writers did ſo underſtand the Scriptures. *Jacob*, when he thought his Son *Joſeph* was dead [b], refuſed to be comforted, ſaying, that he would *go down to his Son*; and the Original Word there uſed [c], for the *Grave*, is what frequently occurs in Scripture to denote the *Subterraneous Manſions*, and, as ſuch, is tranſlated by the LXX *Greek* Interpreters [d], but never by the Word Ταφος, or any other Word that ſignifies a *Grave* or a *Sepulchre*; and St. *Jerom* and others in the *Latin* tranſlate it to the ſame Purpoſe [e]; ſo alſo at the puniſhing of a lewd Company of *Schiſmatics* [f], they are ſaid *to go down alive into the* PIT; the ſame Word there uſed, as before. So the Royal *Pſalmiſt* [g], *If I climb up into Heaven, thou art there; if I*

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a *Mat.* xxvii. b *Gen.* xxxvii. c שאל.
d Ἅιδης. e *Infernum.* f *Numb.* xvi.
g cxxxviii.

go down to Hell, thou art there alſo. * We *very often* uſe the Word *Hell* (in our tranſlating the Bible) *improperly*, becauſe our Language does not furniſh us with a Word that's comprehenſive enough: The Scriptures ſometimes expreſs it by the Way of a Periphraſis: As, *He aſcended; what is that, but the ſame that deſcended to the lower Parts of the Earth?* St. *Paul* tells the *Philippians* [a], *That at the Name of Jeſus every Knee ſhould bow, of Things in Heaven, and Things under the Earth:* And St. *John*, when he ſpeaks of the Book ſealed with ſeven Seals, ſays, *No Man in Heaven nor in Earth neither under the Earth, was able to open the Book, neither to look thereon.* You will eaſily imagine, Madam, that theſe Primitive Writers had ſuch Paſſages as theſe in their Eye, when they paſſed their Judgment upon this *Appearance* of *Samuel* from the *lower* Parts of the Earth. *Irenæus*, who lived not long after the Apoſtles, ſpeaks very plain about the *lower Parts of the Earth*, as the proper Reſidence for the Souls of the Juſt, till at the great Day they ſhall be reunited to their Bodies, and then

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* *Hell*; not only the Place of *Torments*, but the Place or State of *deceaſed* Souls, or what we commonly call the *other World*. It is a *Place* or *State*, which *all*, even the beſt Men, come unto, ſays Mr. *Ainſworth*; who obſerves farther, that *Jacob* made Account to go thither, when he ſays (*Gen.* xxxvii. 35.) That he would go down to *Hell* mourning to his Son: And our *Saxon* Anceſtors tranſlate the Place in the ſame Manner.

a Chap. ii.

aſcend into Heaven, and have a full Conſummation of their Happineſs; the Diſcourſe is introduced by this renowned Prelate, on Account of our Saviour's *Deſcent into Hell*; where he takes Notice of our Saviour's Saying to *Mary*, *Touch me not, for I have not yet aſcended to my Father* — "If therefore our Lord, ſays *Irenæus*, "did conform himſelf to the Law relating to "the Dead, that he might be the Firſt-born "from the Dead, and ſtayed till the third Day "in the *lower Parts of the Earth*, after which, "riſing with his Body, that he might ſhew his "Diſciples the Print of the Nails, ſo went up "to Heaven; how can ſuch People help bluſh-"ing, (*meaning the Gnoſticks*) who aſſert this "World to be the Place of Hell; but that "their Souls, when they quit the Body, mount "to the higher Regions above? For, ſince our "Lord retired, in the midſt of the Shadow "of Death, where the Souls of the Deceas'd "were; roſe afterward with his Body; and "then was taken up; 'tis evident, that the Souls "of the Diſciples, or Chriſtians in general, for "whoſe Sake the Lord did thoſe Things, have "a Place appointed them by God, above our "Comprehenſion, where they ſhall continue "waiting till the general Reſurrection; when "being reunited in a perfect Manner to their "own Bodies, or riſing as our Lord did, they "ſhall become Partakers of the Beatifick Vi-"ſion[a]. If you are pleaſed to know more of

[a] Adv. Hær. Lib. V. Cap. 31.

this Matter, Madam, you may ſee it fully treated of in Dr. *Heylin* and Biſhop *Pearſon*'s Expoſitions of that *Article* of our Creed; the latter obſerves, when this was made one of the *Articles* of our Religion at the Reformation, that it was propounded with a certain Explication, and thus deliver'd in the fourth Year of King *Edward* VI. with Reference to an expreſs Place of Scripture interpreted of this *Deſcent*, viz. *That the* BODY *of Chriſt lay in the Grave until his Reſurrection: But his* SPIRIT, *which he gave up, was with the Spirits which were detained in Priſon, or in Hell, and preached to them, as the Place in St. Peter teſtifieth*; In Biſhop *Sparrow*'s Collection, the *Article* in *Engliſh* reads thus, "As Chriſt died and was buried for us; "ſo alſo it is to be believed, that he went "down into Hell; For the Body lay in the Se- "pulchre until the Reſurrection, but his Ghoſt "departing from him was with the Ghoſts that "were in Priſon or in Hell, and did preach to "the ſame as the Place of St. *Peter* doth teſti- "fy." But in the Synod ten Years after, in the Days of Queen *Elizabeth*, the Articles, which continue ſtill in Force, deliver the ſame *Deſcent*, but without any the leaſt Explication or Reference to any particular Place of Scripture, in theſe Words, *As Chriſt died for us and was buried, ſo alſo it is to be believed that he went down into Hell.* You find the Paſſage in St. *Peter*'s firſt Epiſtle[a], — *He went and preached*

[a] Chap. iii. 19, 20.

unto

unto the Spirits in Priſon; which ſome time were diſobedient, &c. Why the *Article* ſtands now without *Explication* and *Reference*, is an Enquiry, not at all *material* to our preſent Purpoſe; and were it otherwiſe, I believe you would think it more proper for me to let it alone. The Paſſage ſeems to allude to what the Prophet *Zechariah* ſays [a], where he is exhorting *Zion* to rejoyce for the Coming of Chriſt,— *As for thee alſo, by the Blood of thy Covenant, I have ſent forth thy Priſoners out of the Pit, wherein is no Water.* The Prophecy concerning Chriſt juſt precedes this Paſſage, and is ſo quoted by the *Evangeliſts* concerning his Entry into *Jeruſalem*, *Rejoyce greatly, O Daughter of Zion; ſhout O Daughter of Jeruſalem, behold thy King cometh*, &c. And then, by Way of Apoſtrophe, the Prophet addreſſes himſelf to Chriſt, *As for thee alſo*, &c. (as above) *Juſtin* the Martyr and *Irenæus*; the one, in his Dialogue with *Trypho* the *Jew*, the other in his third Book againſt Hereſies [b] quote a Paſſage, as belonging either to *Iſaiah* or *Jeremiah*, which ſo much reſembles this Paſſage of St. *Peter*, that probably he might take it thence; the Words are, *The Lord the Holy one of Iſrael had in Remembrance* HIS *that were dead, and were aſſeep in the Land of the Deceas'd, and went down to preach to them Salvation, which is from him, that he might ſave them. Juſtin* is there

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a Chap. ix. 11. b Chap. xxiii.

upbraid-

upbraiding his *Jew* with the baſe Methods, they had taken, by curtailing the Holy Scriptures in many Places; and this Paſſage, he ſays, was one of them; the Annotator *Sylburgius* makes no Doubt, but St. *Peter* did refer to this Paſſage: And *Feuardentius* upon *Irenæus*, obſerves, that this Paſſage neither occurs in the *Septuagint* nor *Vulgar* Tranſlation.

After what I have thus offer'd, concerning *Samuel*'s *Appearance* at *Endor*, I am apt to think, you may have ſtill ſome *Scruples* remaining about it; as whether it was the *real* Soul of *Samuel*, or whether the Almighty would permit any *ſuch Appearance* to be. We may ſafely affirm, that, without the Divine *Permiſſion*, it was not in the Power of any Infernal Spirit to have effected it. But whether, conſidering all the particular Circumſtances of the Fact, and the ſtrict Relation had between *Saul* and *Samuel* when alive, ſuch an *Appearance* may not be *reaſonable*; or whether ſuch *Appearance* be any ways *inconſiſtent* with infinite Wiſdom and Juſtice, ſeems to be the main Queſtion. *Samuel*, when he had anointed *Saul* to be *King*, might be ſaid to continue ſtill *Judge* of the People; though they were ſo fond of a Change in Government, and obſtinately affected the Title of *King* for their Governour. 'Tis evident, *Samuel* ſtill retain'd the *judiciary* Power, and was prime Miniſter in all Affairs beſides; 'twas the peculiar Office of *Samuel* to *inſtruct*, to *adviſe*, and to *reprove Saul*: But when he grew very wicked, and *Samuel* found all Methods unſucceſsful; he

left

left him with this Prophetick Sentence denounc'd againſt him, *The Lord hath rent the Kingdom of Iſrael from thee this Day, and hath given it to a Neighbour of thine that is better than thou.* This was the laſt Time that *Samuel* took any *Notice* of *Saul*; *Samuel went to Ramah, and there mourned for Saul*[a]; he knew, that *Saul*'s Kingdom was ſoon to be taken from him, and was alſo really concern'd for *Saul*'s Condition after this Life; the good old Man therefore *mourns*, though he was no Tranſgreſſor himſelf, for *one* that was a very great Offender, but without any Remorſe for his own Sins. With theſe Thoughts the Soul of *Samuel* went down to the Grave: But at *Endor*, Madam, you have the ſame Words explain'd, that *Samuel* made Uſe of, when he took his Leave of *Saul*. *Samuel* told *Saul*, juſt before they parted, *The Lord hath rent the Kingdom*, &c. And here at *Endor*, he reminds him of this memorable Converſation, in the following Words[b]: *The Lord hath done, for himſelf, as he ſpake by me: For the Lord hath rent the Kingdom out of thy Hand, and given it to thy Neighbour, even to David.* But if this Argument be not ſufficient for inferring it to have been the *real* Soul of *Samuel*, it may then, I think, be reaſonably asked, whether any infernal Power was, or could be in it's own Nature, privy to ſuch Diſcourſe, as paſs'd between *Saul* and *Samuel* when alive, and which

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a 1 *Sam.* xv. b 1 *Sam.* xxviii. 17.

was

was afterwards repeated at *Endor*? It muſt be allowed, that to *ſearch the Heart and Reins* is a Privilege belonging to the Almighty: *No Man, nor Devil, knoweth the Things of a Man, but the Spirit that is in him: And 'tis the Spirit that ſearcheth the deep Things of God:* It ſeem'd a ſufficient Argument, that Chriſt was God, when he let the *Scribes* ſee, that *he knew their Thoughts* [a]; and were *infernal* Spirits conſtantly acquainted with the inmoſt Receſſes of our Souls, our Temptations would be more violent, and the Victory ſtill rendered more difficult. I know very well, the Reply to this, is, that ſuch Knowledge might, and often has been communicated to *Demons*, for executing the Almighty's Will and Pleaſure here. This I readily grant: But then, as I ſaid before, conſidering all the Circumſtances of this *Appearance*, why may it not be more reaſonable to ſuppoſe *Samuel* by divine Appointment divulging his *own Thoughts*, than to have *them* communicated, and then divulged in ſo ſolemn a Manner by an *infernal* Spirit? Or what is there in this unbecoming the Majeſty of Heaven? The greateſt Objection, to this *real* Appearance of *Samuel*, (at leaſt it has the greateſt Weight with me) is, that ſince *Saul* ſays of himſelf, juſt before he went to *Endor* [b], *That the Lord anſwered him not, neither by Dreams, nor by Urim, nor by Prophets*; that therefore, it ſhould ſeem incon-

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a *Mat.* ix. b 1 *Sam.* xxviii. 6.

ſiſtent,

ſiſtent, to ſuppoſe the Almighty afterwards concern'd in giving him an *Anſwer* from the *Dead*; eſpecially when 'twas what he himſelf had forbid by an expreſs Law — This is the Subſtance of all that has been objected, either by any of the Antients, or by *Leo Allatius*, and other Moderns; you are then, Madam, to weigh in the Ballance what has been already offered concerning the *real* Appearance of *Samuel*, what the Judgment of thoſe Antients I quoted; and whether the Reaſons ſuppoſed to induce them in forming ſuch Judgment are of any Force: And, as to the preſent Objection, I ſhould think it might be ſafely anſwered, in ſaying, that *Saul*'s wicked Intention of having Recourſe to *Necromancy*, might induce the Almighty to *interpoſe*, and hinder both him and the Woman executing that, which they were then going about to do, and yet at the ſame Time to give *Saul* the ſtrongeſt Aſſurances (not ſubject to any Illuſion) of the ſudden Deſtruction that was coming upon him. You obſerve, by the Hiſtory, *the great Confuſion* the Woman was in at *Endor*; what a terrible *Cry* or *Howl* there was, when ſhe was ſurpriz'd at the *Appearance* of *Samuel*. This *Pythoneſs*, we may conjecture, had not Time given her, to put herſelf in Order for playing the Magick Tricks ſhe intended; or, it may be, the *Appearance* wat not only ſudden, and therefore ſuch as ſhe might conclude ſhe had no Hand in, but was in *another* Manner, than what ſhe was before uſed to; and ſome Commentators have accordingly obſerv'd, that, probably,

bably, *Samuel* did not *aſcend* by the Rules of *Necromancy*, but in a Poſture quite different. I am therefore inclin'd to think, that *Samuel*'s *real* Appearance may be very well admitted, without ſuppoſing the Almighty to have been conſenting to the *Breach* of any divine Law; and that it was by no Means inconſiſtent, that God, after having denied a wicked Man's Requeſt, in not *anſwering him by Dreams*, &c. ſhould take the Opportunity, and uſe Methods more agreeable with his own infinite Wiſdom and Juſtice, in denouncing *Saul*'s Doom by that very Perſon, who had anointed him King, and made it his ſole Buſineſs to ſupport him in his Throne; that Perſon, whoſe Counſel he had rejected, whoſe Propheſies he had dreaded, and which Propheſies, as a Prelude to his approaching Miſery, he was to hear declared by him from the other World in a more full, awful and terrible Manner, than he had heard *them* in this. And thus, Madam, I leave the Whole with you, and will not venture to affirm any Thing farther in this Matter of *Samuel*, than in aſſuring you, that I pay the ſame Regard to the *Paſſage* already quoted out of the Book of *Eccleſiaſticus*, which the antient Fathers did. I could eaſily produce ſeveral very material Teſtimonies from them; from *Clemens Alexandrinus*, St. *Cyprian*, *Epiphanius*, St. *Ambroſe*, beſides that from St. *Auſtin* already mention'd, in Behalf of that Book; and many of them believed it to be *Solomon*'s, though collected and digeſted by *Jeſus* the Son of *Sirach*. Our Church did

did not ſettle the *Canon* of Scripture, or exclude this Book in the *Articles* drawn up in the Reign of King *Edward* VI. And when it was done in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, the Books then ſtil'd *Apocryphal* are no otherways diſtinguiſh'd than they were of old by St. *Jerom*, viz. *the Church doth read them for Example of Life, and Inſtruction of Manners, but yet doth not apply them to eſtabliſh any Doctrine.* By *Doctrine* we muſt underſtand *ſuch*, and *ſuch* only, as relates to any Article of our *Faith*. The *Doctrine* at preſent, Madam, is not of that Sort; nor is our *Salvation* in the leaſt concern'd, whether we reject or admit the Doctrine, which has been thus advanc'd.

After what has been ſaid then, concerning this *particular* Appearance of *Samuel*, I will now beg Leave to give you my Thoughts concerning *Appearances* in *general*: For ſhould you be inclin'd, Madam, to think as I do, concerning the *real* Soul of *Samuel* at *Endor*, yet we muſt ſtill think of it, as an Appearance *particular* and extraordinary, ſo order'd by the Almighty, it may be, for many wiſe and good Ends; but by no Means infer, that therefore the *real* Soul of *Julius Cæſar* was at *Philippi*; or that there may not be Reſemblances of Perſons alive but abſent, as alſo deceas'd; and Communications that Way, as well as by *Dreams* and *Viſions*, and yet the Souls of ſuch Perſons whether alive or deceas'd, whether good or bad, knowing nothing of the Matter, and no Ways privy to ſuch Communications ap-

pointed or permitted by the Almighty, unleſs he ſees fit to order it otherwiſe. It is in this Senſe, and no other, that I ſhall treat of the preſent Subject; and I am not without Hopes of giving you ſome Satisfaction, before I have done with it.

The Doctrine of Subſtances *ſpiritual*, or what, in Contradiſtinction to Bodies corporeal and viſible, we often call *immaterial*, is a Doctrine, which the better and more thinking Part of the Heathen World eaſily apprehended, and of which they were thoroughly convinced both by Reaſon and Experience [a], to the great Reproach of thoſe *mungrel Jews*, who ſay, that *there is neither Angel nor Spirit* [b]. The Author to the *Hebrews* ſtiles the Almighty the *Father of Spirits* [c]. Such *Spirits* muſt all confeſs, as well as we that are of another Mould, that *'tis he who hath made us, and not we ourſelves*: Some of them were ſo unhappy, as to forget it, when through their Pride and Envy they *loſt their firſt Eſtate, and are reſerved in everlaſting Chains under Darkneſs, unto the Judgment of the great Day* [d]. Theſe are now diſtinguiſh'd by the Name of *Demons* or *Devils*; whereas thoſe, who retain'd the happy Eſtate in which they were firſt created, have now in common the Name of *Angels*, tho' different *Orders*, as the Scripture informs us. The *one* are continually roving about in this ſublunary World,

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a *Ariſtot. 8. Phyſ. & 12. Metaphyſ.*

b *Acts* xxiii. 8. c Chap. xii. 9. d *Jude* vi.

ſeeking

ſeeking whom they may enſnare, and how to encreaſe their Kingdom of Darkneſs; the *other* as vigilant in taking heed to their Charge, as *miniſtring Spirits ſent forth to miniſter for them who ſhall be Heirs of Salvation* [2].

Now, Madam, by the *Appearance* of a *Spirit*, I would in general (or without taking the Word *Appearance* in the ſtricteſt Senſe) be underſtood, that ſuch *Subſtances* ſpiritual and immaterial, good and bad, have often been, and ſtill may be, manifeſted in ſuch a Manner, though not without the Appointment or Permiſſion of the Almighty, as to be eaſily apprehended by one, more, or all of our *Senſes*: But then, as our *Senſes* are to be conſider'd ſeveral Ways, ſo there are as different Ways, wherein ſuch *Appearances* occur. Sometimes the Communication is only *mental*; ſometimes the Repreſentation is rendered ſtrong to the Imagination; at other Times, the outward Senſes themſelves engaged in ſuch *Appearance*. You eaſily obſerve, that the Old and New Teſtament afford us ſeveral Inſtances for illuſtrating theſe Diſtinctions. Nay, farther, we there learn, that there may be ſometimes undoubted *external* Proof given of *immaterial* Subſtances being preſent, and yet no *Appearance* at all. 'Twas ſo, when by the *Miniſtry of Angels* the Law was given to the People; when there was enough to prove their Preſence, but nothing more

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2 *Heb.* i. 14.

perceived

perceived, than *Thundrings, the Noiſe of the Trumpet, and the Mountain ſmoaking* [a]. And ſo it was, likewiſe, when, by the ſame Executioners of the Almighty's Will and Power, the Courſe of Nature was alter'd, and the Sun and Moon ſtood ſtill at the Voice of a Man; *When Joſhuah ſaid in the Sight of Iſrael, Sun, ſtand thou ſtill upon Gibeon, and thou Moon in the Valley of Ajalon* [b]. I remember, you have ſometimes told me, that you had read over a great many Books about *Apparitions*, and that you thought there was juſt Reaſon to reject many of them as *fabulous:* I entirely agreed with you in Opinion; and I farther added, that 'twas not improbable, but the *Degeneracy* and *Prophaneſs* amongſt Chriſtians might be one Reaſon, why ſuch Communications by Dreams and Viſions are ſo rarely permitted amongſt us, as formerly. I ſhall be very careful, Madam, in offering any Thing to you upon the preſent Subject, but what I think is ſupported with the beſt Authority, as well as Reaſon; ſo far as *Reaſon* may have to do in the Matter. The great *Miſtake*, that People are generally led into, when they read ſuch Books, as you mention'd (and you frankly own'd it to be your own Caſe) is, they imagine, in the Affair of *Apparitions* and *Communications* from the other World, that the *real* Souls of Perſons deceas'd are concern'd, and acquainted with the Matter tran-

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a *Exod.* xx. 18. b *Joſh.* x. 12.

facted;

ſacted; whereas we are rather to conclude, that ſuch *Souls departed* may be *generally* utter Strangers to what is ſo permitted or appointed by the ſupreme Governour; and that they continue juſt in the ſame State they were, upon their Diſſolution here. The Caſe has been often evidently *ſo* in Regard to the Living; and why may we not account for it in the ſame Manner, as to the *Dead?* I mean, 'tis a Truth beyond Contradiction, that there have been Perſons in all Ages, and in all Parts of the World, whether *Heathen* or *Chriſtian*, who have either by an external Appearance, or Dream, or Viſion, been adviſed, inſtructed, or acquainted by ſome Friend or Relation, in whoſe Reſemblance they could not be miſtaken; and yet ſuch Friend or Relation has not only been at a great Diſtance, and in a good State of Health, but, as it has afterwards prov'd, was perfectly ignorant of the Matter, as to ſuch Advice or Information given under ſuch Reſemblance. St. *Auſtin*, Madam, in that curious Treatiſe, which I have twice quoted already [a], gives ſome remarkable Inſtances to this Purpoſe; and he makes himſelf one of them. " *It* has been related, ſays St. " *Auſtin*, that ſome *dead* Folks, whilſt their " Bodies have continued above Ground unbu- " ried, have *appear'd* to Perſons *living*, either " in their Sleep, or in ſome other Manner, " they being wholly ignorant where ſuch Bo-

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a *De Cura pro Mortuis gerenda.*

" dies

" dies lay, and that having ſignified where the
" Places were, preſſed them to give Burial,
" which had been neglected. If it ſhall be
" reply'd, that theſe Things are not true,
" ſuch Reply (ſays the Father) may well be
" term'd *impudent*; becauſe 'tis not only queſ-
" tioning the Authority of ſome Authors of
" known Credit, as to what they relate; but
" 'tis arraigning the very Senſes of thoſe,
" who affirm that Things of this Nature have
" befel them: The proper Anſwer therefore,
" or Account to be given of theſe Things is,
" that we are not to imagine, ſuch dead Folks
" are any ways affected, or concern'd in the Af-
" fair themſelves, becauſe *they ſeem* to ſpeak,
" to ſignify, and make it their Requeſt to Per-
" ſons *living*, in their Sleep or otherways: For
" many who are *alive* often appear to one an-
" other in their Sleep; and yet ſuch, who ſo
" *appear*, know nothing of it themſelves, till
" they have the Account from the other;
" who declare that they ſaw them in their
" Sleep talking or acting ſuch and ſuch Things.
" If then a Perſon can ſee *me* in his Sleep, ac-
" quainting him with ſomething that's juſt
" come to paſs, or, it may be, foretelling ſome-
" thing that's yet to happen; when I, at the
" ſame Time, am an utter Stranger to thoſe
" Things, and, probably, never ſo much as
" came into my Thoughts, whether that Perſon
" was up or no, when I went to Bed, or whe-
" ther we might be awake or aſleep at one and
" the ſame Time or no, when he ſo ſaw me:

" Why

" Why is it then to be wonder'd at, that Perſons
" *deceas*'d ſhould ſeem to preſent themſelves to
" the *Living* in their Sleep, and to impart ſome
" Things to them, which they afterwards find
" to be true, and yet the *Deceas'd* may be
" unacquainted with ſuch Things themſelves?
" For my own Part, I believe theſe Things are
" done by *Angels*, ſo appointed or permitted
" by the Almighty —— But ſuch is human
" Frailty; when any one has ſeen a Perſon,
" that's *dead*, in his Sleep, he is apt to think,
" that the *Soul* of the Deceas'd then appears;
" and yet, when he ſhall have ſeen a *living* Per-
" ſon in the like Manner, he's thoroughly ſatis-
" fied, that 'twas neither his Soul nor his Bo-
" dy, but the *Reſemblance* of the Perſon that
" he ſaw; as if it was not *alike* poſſible, that
" there there may be ſuch *Reſemblances* of de-
" ceas'd Perſons in our Dreams, and yet the
" Souls of ſuch Perſons knowing nothing of
" it. When I was at *Milan*, 'twas related, as
" a certain Truth, that there having been made
" a Demand of a Debt, which had been really
" paid by one that was then dead; but the
" Son, on whom the Demand was made, being
" ignorant of it, and affrighted at the Sight
" of his Father's Bond produced againſt him,
" and thereupon thrown into a deep Melancho-
" ly, wondering that his Father, when a dy-
" ing, and when he alſo made his *Will*, ſhould
" take no Notice of his Debts: Under this Per-
" plexity, the Father *appear'd* to him in his
" Sleep, and let him know where he ſhould

" find a *Counter-Security* in Relation to that " Debt: This being accordingly found and " produc'd, he not only clear'd himſelf, as to " the falſe and ſcandalous Demand that had " been made, but likewiſe recover'd the Bond, " under his Father's Hand, which he had care- " leſly ſuffer'd to lye out againſt him, when " he paid the Money. Now, here the Man's " *Soul* is *ſuppus'd* to take this Care of his Son, " and to have come to him when aſleep, and by " inſtructing him in what he was ignorant, freed " him from the great Trouble he was in. Like- " wiſe at the very ſame Time, when I heard this, " being then ſettled at *Milan*, one *Eulogius*, a " Profeſſor of Rhetoric at *Carthage*, (who " was once my Pupil in that Way, and gave me " the following Account, after I return'd to " him into *Africa*) during the Courſe of " Lectures which he was reading upon *Ci-* " *cero*'s Books of *Rhetoric*, happen'd, when " he was overlooking a certain Lecture againſt " the next Day, to meet with a Paſſage that " ſeem'd very dark and obſcure. Not being " able to underſtand or to make himſelf Maſter " of that *Paſſage*, he went to Bed very much " diſſatisfied, and could hardly ſleep for think- " ing of it: But that Night, whilſt he was " ſlumbering, I, it ſeems, explain'd the Diffi- " culty, and made *that* intelligible to him, " which before was otherwiſe: But yet, it " was not I, but a Reſemblance of me, who " knew nothing of the Matter, was at a great " Diſtance on the other Side of the Sea, and

" was

" was either doing or dreaming ſomething
" elſe at that Time, and had not the leaſt
" Thought of that which then ſo much di-
" ſturbed *Eulogius*. The *Way* or Manner
" how theſe Things may be done, is what I
" am at a Loſs to define; but let them be
" done which Way ſoever, what Objection can
" there be to our believing, that any one in his
" Sleep may ſee a Perſon that is *dead*, in the
" ſame Way that he ſees one that is *alive?*
" Both of them being ignorant and unconcern'd,
" as well in Reſpect of the Perſon, as the Place
" and Time, when ſuch *Repreſentations* are
" made. Why are we not to believe, that
" theſe Things are done by *Angels*, thro' the
" Diſpenſation of divine Providence, who uſes
" both the *good* and *bad*, for excellent Pur-
" poſes, according to the Depth of his Counſels
" which are unſearchable? Whether it be for
" *Inſtruction* in ſome, or *Deluſion* in others;
" whether for *Comfort* or *Terror*; every one's
" Condition is, either to taſte of his *Mercy*,
" or *Indignation* and *Wrath*: And when the
" Church of God *ſings of his Mercy and*
" *his Judgment*, we are to ſuppoſe ſuch Ex-
" preſſion not to be without its proper Force
" and Energy. In ſhort, let every one judge,
" as he pleaſe, of this Diſcourſe of mine: *I will*
" *only add*, if the Souls of the Deceas'd did in-
" tereſt themſelves in the Affairs of the *Living*,
" and they themſelves converſed, when ap-
" pearing to us in our Sleep, 'tis certain my own
" good pious Mother (to name no more)

" would

* Why not rather by acting on the imagination of the perſon to whom ſuch communication is made, which ſeems a ſimpler way of effecting ſuch appearances.

" would never let a Night paſs without making " me a Viſit, ſince, when alive, ſhe followed " me both at Sea and Land, that ſhe might live " with me" This was the Lady, Madam, I remember you once mention'd on Account of ſome Affliction that had lately happen'd to a Relation of yours; and, as you was pleas'd to expreſs yourſelf, you wiſh'd you might be ſo happy as to copy after your dear *Monica*. She was, indeed, a Woman of exalted Piety; and when ſhe came to die, at the Age but of fifty-ſix, what a moving Scene was there between her and her Son at parting? I fear, I ſhall incur your Diſpleaſure, if I ſhould omit it; we meet with it in the tenth and eleventh Chapters of his ninth Book of *Confeſſions*; and I will be as brief as poſſible in relating it, though it may not be altogether Foreign to the preſent Subject neither. " When the Day of *Monica*'s " Death drew near, and ſhe had ſo contriv'd " it, that ſhe and her Son might be alone, the " Diſcourſe immediately began about the Hap- " pineſs of the other Life, *ſuch as neither Eye* " *hath ſeen, nor Ear heard, nor hath it en-* " *ter'd into the Heart of Man to conceive.*" St. *Auſtin* having for ſome Time expatiated upon the Subject, and obſerved, how poor and mean the Delights of this World are, his Mother replies, —— " Son, as to myſelf, there " is nothing belonging to this Life, wherein " I take any Pleaſure: What there is now for " me to do *here*, is more than I am able to ſay, " there being now an End of all that I hoped

" for

" for in this World: There was one Thing, " indeed, made me desirous of continuing for " some Time on this Side o' the Grave, that I " might see Thee a thorough good Christian be- " fore I died. This my God has abundantly " made good to me, in letting me live to see " Thee his faithful Servant, and able to de- " spise such terrene Happiness, as well as my- " self." St. *Austin* says, he does not well remember what Reply he made to these Words of his Mother; but when she was dying, and her Soul seem'd for some little Time to have taken its Flight, her Senses were soon restor'd, and she seeing him and his Brother standing by, she told 'em, " That as to her Body, they might " lay it where they pleased, but would not " have them trouble themselves about the " Manner of her Burial; *All that I request of* " *you is this, that as often as you approach* " *the Altar of the Lord, you will not fail to* " *remember me.*[a]" St. *Austin* was soon at the Throne of Grace after his Mother's Decease; The Prayer is heavenly, truly becoming so great a Prelate; and the pious Breathings, which recommended his Mother's *Soul*, exalted and really promoted the Good of his *own*. But this is all I shall say of it, unless you shall hereafter lay your Commands upon me to say more. I rather now proceed, in considering how we are

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[a] *Tantum illud vos rogo, ut ad Domini Altare memineritis mei ubi fueritis.*

to

to account for theſe *Appearances:* And, for my own Part, I cannot ſee any better Foundation to build on, than what St. *Auſtin* has laid down. If this be allow'd of, we need not have Recourſe to any ſuch extraordinary Method, as might probably be the Caſe of *Samuel*; nor need we ſuppoſe the *real* Soul of *Julius Cæſar* to have been at *Philippi*, when Heaven was determin'd to chaſtiſe a wretched *Brutus*. Take the Reflection made upon it, as it ſtands recorded in one of the greateſt Monuments of Learning, that has appear'd in the preſent Age, (and which, 'tis likely, has a Place in your own Cloſet) *Dr.* Prideaux's *Connection of the Old and New Teſtament.*

" The Murder of *Cæſar*, ſays he, was a moſt " baſe and villanous Act, and was the more ſo, " in that the prime Authors of it, *Marcus* " *Brutus*, *Decimus Brutus*, *Caſſius*, and *Tre-* " *bonius*, and ſome others of them, were ſuch " as *Cæſar* had in the higheſt Manner obliged: " Yet it was executed under the Notion of an " high Heroick Virtue, in thus freeing their " Country from one whom they called a Ty- " rant; and there are not wanting ſuch as are " ready even in our Days to applaud the Act: " But divine Juſtice declar'd itſelf otherwiſe " in this Matter; for it purſued *every one* of " them that were concern'd herein, with ſuch " a juſt and remarkable Revenge, that they " were every Man of them cut off in a ſhort " Time after in a violent Manner, either by " their own or other Men's Hands.——'Tis

" evi-

" evident, an over-ruling Power of Providence
" ſet up *Cæſar* as a fit Inſtrument for the Work
" which he brought to paſs; carrying him
" through all Dangers and Hazards to the full
" accompliſhing of it; and after that, when
" there was no more for him to do, caſt him
" off to periſh like a Rod, which is thrown in-
" to the Fire when no more to be us'd. The
" Work was God's, but it being Malice and
" Ambition that excited him to be the Inſtru-
" ment in the Execution of it, he juſtly had
" for the Reward thereof that Deſtruction by
" which he fell —— He ſufficiently prov'd him-
" ſelf to have been a terrible Scourge in the
" Hand of God, (having, as *Pliny* obſerves, in
" fifty Battles, which he fought, ſlain eleven
" hundred ninety-two thouſand Men) for the
" Puniſhment of the Wickedneſs of that Age in
" which he liv'd; and conſequently he is to
" be reputed the greateſt Peſt and Plague that
" Mankind then had therein: But notwith-
" ſtanding this, his Actions have with many ac-
" quired great Glory to his Name; whereas
" true Glory is due only to thoſe who benefit,
" not to thoſe who deſtroy Mankind." I flatter myſelf, you'll pardon this Digreſſion; and I proceed to obſerve, that if St, *Auſtin*'s Explication of *Apparitions* be allow'd of, we eaſily account, as Chriſtians, for thoſe *Communications* from the other World in *Dreams*, that have been ſo frequent in all Ages relating to *Futurity*; to the private or publick good; to the rewarding of Virtue and the Puniſhment of Vice. There

is no one Thing, the whole World has all along been more agreed in, than this.* And though the Heathen were Strangers to the *Angelick Diſpenſation*, or God's governing the World in that Manner, with which we are well acquainted; yet theſe Things were carefully attended to by them: They knew, there muſt be ſome Power ſuperior to themſelves, who did theſe Things; the viſible Effects of ſuch a Power frequently admoniſh'd them, that 'twas their Duty and Intereſt to regard it. † "I am of their Opinion, "ſays the *Roman* Orator [a], who make two Sorts "of *Divination*; the one, done by *Art*; the "other, without any Art at all: The firſt Sort "are thoſe, who by Obſervation have learnt, "how Things were formerly, and ſo are bet-"ter able to form their Conjectures, how Things "may fall out at preſent: But the other Sort "are ſuch, who uſe no Art at all, who either "by a ſtrong Emotion of Mind, or elſe by a "free and eaſy Impulſe, without reaſoning up-"on the Matter, or making any Obſervation "or Conjecture from external Objects, have a "real Fore-knowledge of ſeveral Things that

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* Gentem quidem nullam video neque tam humanam atque doctam, neque tam immanem, tamque barbaram, quæ non ſignificari futura, & a quibuſdam intelligi, prædicique poſſe cenſeat. *Cic. de Divin. Lib.* I,

† Quid quæris, Carneades, cur hæc ita fiant, aut qua arte perſpici poſſint? neſcire me fateor; evenire autem te ipſum dico videre. *Ibid.*

a *Ibid.*

"are

" are to come to pass; and the same Thing, " says he, often happens to People in their " Dreams, *&c.*" The many Instances that *Cicero*, *Pliny*, *Plutarch* and others have given, and so well attested by their own, and the Authority of others, concerning *Appearances*, whether in Dreams or otherways, are certainly best explain'd in the Manner that I have already laid down from St. *Austin*. For, when *Cicero* tells us [b], from the Writings of *Dionysius*, of that great Prince *Cyrus*, that having seen in his Sleep the Sun lying at his Feet, and *thrice* endeavour'd, but in vain, to lay hold of it; he was afterwards acquainted by the *Magi* (a wise and learned Sort of People that liv'd in *Persia*) that by the *Dream* was signified, he should reign *thirty* Years; which so came to pass; *Cyrus* living till he was seventy Years old, and began his Reign at forty; who sees not, that the Almighty was then governing among the Heathen as well as among the *Hebrews*, and, by his subservient Ministers, was concerning himself as well in the Dream of *Cyrus*, as in the Interpretation of it? " 'Tis observable from most of " our antient Historians, that when a People " had once distinguish'd themselves in Wicked- " ness, and their Sins becoming *national* made " them ripe for divine Vengeance, and neces- " sarily called for a *national* Punishment, such " Punishment was usually signified by some pre-

[b] *Ibid.*

" vious *Communications*, from the ſame infinite " Power that was to inflict it." *Hannibal*, after he had ruin'd *Saguntum*, was favour'd with a remarkable *Viſion*, letting him ſee before-hand, that he was the Inſtrument deſign'd by Heaven to check the Pride and Luxury of the haughty *Roman*: The Account of this Matter is given us by *Cicero* [a], who likewiſe quotes an Author for it, that had been very careful in writing a particular Hiſtory of *Hannibal*'s Affairs; and the Account is this: " *Hannibal*, when he had " taken *Saguntum*, found himſelf one Night in " his Sleep ſummon'd, as he thought, by *Ju-* " *piter* to attend a Council held by the Gods; " where being come, *Jupiter* commanded him, " that he ſhould forthwith carry the War into " *Italy*; and one of the Council being aſſign'd " him as a Guide or Leader in that Affair, and " he making uſe of him as ſuch, thought he " had already put his whole Army in Motion; " upon which his Leader charg'd him not to " look behind him; but this having rais'd his " Curioſity, he could not long forbear caſting " an Eye backward: When lo! a Beaſt of a " monſtrous Size, fierce, environ'd with Ser- " pents, and throwing down Houſes, Trees, and " whatever came in its Way: This wonderful " Sight induced him, as he thought, to ask " of the God, what might be the Meaning " of ſuch a Monſter; and that God anſwer'd

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a Lib. I. de Divin.

" him,

" him. 'Twas to ſignify the Havock and Cala-
" mity that would befall *Italy*; and bad him
" proceed forthwith, and to take no Care about
" what might happen, behind him." This Dream or Viſion, Madam, ſoon unriddles that Reſolution of *Hannibal*'s paſſing over the *Alps*, and his ſurmounting ſo many Difficulties; Difficulties, ſo aſtoniſhing, that we are in ſome Sort of Pain for the Hiſtorians, when they relate the Facts —— But ſo it was (as the Poet ſings) after this Viſion:

Conqueſt with Laurels did his Arms adorn,
And Rome *in Tears of Blood his Anger mourn.*

'Twas about ſix Years after the Death of *Hannibal*, and near two hundred before Chriſt, that the Temple at *Jeruſalem* had like to have been plunder'd of an immenſe Treaſure; but the Almighty prevented it by an extraordinary *Apparition*, which he appointed for that Purpoſe. We have the Hiſtory in the ſecond Book of the *Maccabees*. The *Apparition*, is expreſſed under the Reſemblance of a Horſe, a Rider, and two other young Men yet 'tis plainly ſaid afterwards, that the Almighty Lord *appeared*. Theſe Things were frequent under the *Jewiſh* Diſpenſation; and when we conſider St. *Paul*'s Converſion; the *Appearance* to *Ananias*, and ſuch other Occurrences in the New Teſtament, we ſhall find the ſame Things done under the *Chriſtian* Diſpenſation likewiſe. That *Dreams* and *Viſions*, were very common in the *Heathen*

World, as well as amongſt the *Jews*, we find evident from the Accounts given in the Time of their Captivity: For 'tis not only ſaid of *Daniel* [a], *That he had Underſtanding in all Viſions and Dreams*; but alſo that the King of *Babylon* found him and his Companions *ten Times better than all the Magicians and Aſtrologers that were in all his Realm.* Had *Daniel*, Madam, lived in the Days of *Hannabal*, and convers'd with him, as he did with King *Nebuchadnezzar*, he would have improved *Hannibal*'s Thoughts upon his *Viſions*, by giving him right Notions of God's Providence; and there would not, in all Probability, have been ſo much Time ſpent, in convincing the one, *that the moſt High ruleth in the Kingdom of Men, and giveth it to whomſoever he will* [a], as there was ſpent in convincing the other; for *Nebuchadnezzar* was firſt ſent to graze with the Beaſts, till his *Hairs were grown like Eagles Feathers, and his Nails like Birds Claws*; and after that, *he bleſs'd the moſt High*; *confeſſing, that all the Inhabitants of the Earth are reputed as nothing*; *and that he doth according to his Will in the* ARMY *of* HEAVEN, *and among the Inhabitants of the Earth.* *Cicero* ſays [c], 'twas upon Record in their own *Annals*, when the *Roman* Army was preſs'd hard by the *Samnites*, and *P. Decius*, one of the Tribunes was adviſ'd not to expoſe himſelf in the Manner he did, that he return'd

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a Chap i. b *Dan.* iv. 32. עבר בחיל שמיא c Ibid.

for

for Anſwer, " He had already in his Dream " ſeen himſelf in the hotteſt Part of the Action, " but yet puſhing the Enemy with great " Slaughter, and gaining immortal Honour; and " the Event was anſwerable." *Socrates*, was able to tell his Friend *Crito* with great Aſſurance, that after *three* Days he ſhould die; which accordigly fell out; and he let his Friend farther know, that ſuch Fore-knowledge was given him in his Sleep, under the Reſemblance of a *very beautiful Woman*. *Socrates* was then confin'd, waiting the Will and Pleaſure of his Enemies: Heaven thought fit to ſoften his Paſſage, and that the Terrors of Death ſhould be leſſen'd by ſuch a *Reſemblance*. *Sophocles*, whom *Cicero* calls a *divine Poet* [a], ſaw that ſacrilegious Villain in his Sleep, who had ſtolen one of the golden Veſſels out of a Temple; *Sophocles* for ſome Time took no Notice of the Dream; till, being frequently admoniſh'd in that Manner, he went up to the *Ariopagus*, and gave publick Notice of the Matter: Upon which, the *Ariopagites* order'd the Perſon to be apprehended, who, being interrogated, confeſs'd the Crime, and reſtor'd the Veſſel. The *Roman* Orator in the Perſon of his Brother *Quinctus* takes Notice [b] of two very remarkable Dreams; ſo well known, and the Relators, Men of ſuch Authority, that he queſtions, if there be any one, that can poſſibly object to the Truth of them.

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a *Ib.* b *Ib.*

The

The first is, of one *Simonides*, who having buried a Stranger that he saw expos'd and wanted that common Piece of Humanity; and he afterwards preparing to go on board a Ship, was forewarn'd by one who resembled the Person he had buried, that he should give over his intended Voyage, or that otherwise he would be Ship-wreck'd and lose his Life: Accordingly he turn'd back; and the Rest that set sail, all perish'd at Sea. The *other*, is, of two *Arcadian* Friends travelling together, who when they came to a Place called *Megara*, the one lodg'd at an Inn; the other at a Friend's House; the latter, at the dead Time of the Night, thought he saw the other in his Sleep entreating him, that he would come to his Assistance; for the Inn-Keeper was going to murder him: The Dream struck such a Terror, that he forthwith got up; but after he had a-while recollected himself, and thought there was nothing of Reality in what he had seen, he laid himself down again; and falling asleep, he was soon importun'd by the same Person, that, since he did not help him when alive, he would not fail to see Justice done, now he was dead; and for that Purpose, let him know, that the Inn-Keeper had thrown his Body into a Cart, and covered it with Dung; but requested, that he would be early at the Gate, before the Cart was gone out of Town; the Dream then made such an Impression, that meeting with the Carter next Morning at the Gate, and putting the Question home to him, what he might have in his Cart;

the

the Fellow was ſo confounded, that he immediately took to his Heels; the Corpſe was dragged out; and the Inn-Keeper had the Puniſhment he deſerv'd. The Remark that *Cicero* makes, Madam, is this — *What can poſſibly have more of Heaven in it, than this Dream? But why need we multiply Inſtances of this Nature* (ſays he) *or look back ſo far for them? You and I* (Brother) *have often talk'd of thoſe two remarkable Dreams, which we have had ourſelves*; and the *Event* prov'd both of them to have been of an extraordinary Nature. *Cicero* there gives the Particulars too long to be inſerted. He readily grants, that *Dreams* are, many of them *falſe*, and, perhaps, *obſcure*: But then 'tis no good Objection, he ſays, becauſe ſome Dreams are *falſe*, that therefore none are *true*: And the Remark he makes afterwards, is, I think, excellently good, and deſerves the particular Notice of ſome Gentlemen [a], who are ſo apt to make themſelves merry with their own *idle* Dreams and thoſe of others, when in Reality they *diſqualify* themſelves, and are not capable of dreaming otherwiſe. *Our Dreams would much oftner prove true*, ſays Cicero, *if we took Care to go to Bed ſober: Whereas, when our Stomachs are over-charg'd with eating and drinking, whatever Things then*

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a ——— Corpus onuſtum
Heſternis Vitiis animum quoque prægravat una.
Hor.

preſent

preſent themſelves; are ſeen in a confus'd and diſorder'd Manner [a]. And *Cicero* there ſhews from *Plato*, that *Socrates* was of the ſame Opinion, and gives us likewiſe a Philoſophical Account of it from the ſame Author; which I ſhall not trouble you with at preſent. I rather chuſe to obſerve, how *Cicero* refines upon thoſe antient Philoſophers, and treats the Subject in Hand, after ſuch a Manner, that few Chriſtians will be found to have done it better. "When the "Soul, ſays he, in our Sleep has once withdrawn "itſelf from its troubleſome Companion the "Body, it then calls to Mind Things that are "paſt, takes a View of Things preſent, and "ſees Things afar off, that are to come: For "as to the Body, when a Perſon is aſleep, he "lies as if he were dead: Whereas, the Soul is "then lively and ſtrong; and will be much "more ſo after Death, when it has totally got "rid of the Body: And therefore as the Diſſo-"lution draws nearer, its Operations are pro-"portionably more divine and powerful. This "is plainly perceiv'd in any grievous and "deadly Diſeaſe. Such Perſons have common-"ly Repreſentations made to them of thoſe that "are dead; they are then chiefly concern'd "for a good Name; and are moſt penitent for "their Offences, if they have liv'd otherwiſe,

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a Quæ quidem ſomnia multo plura evenirent, ſi ad quietem integri iremus: Nunc onuſti cibo & vino perturbata & confuſa cernimus. *ib.*

"than

" than became 'em. But, that dying Perſons " do *divine*, or tell of Things to come, is " evident from the Inſtance, given us by *Po-* " *ſidonius*, of one *Rhodius*, who, when a dy- " ing, *nam*'d ſix Perſons who were much of " the ſame Age, and declar'd, which of 'em " would die *firſt*, *ſecond* and ſo on." 'Tis very plain from *Cicero*, there were a Sort of People in his Time, that gave no Credit to theſe Things; which makes him ſay —— *I may ſeem to tell diſmal Stories and idle Tales: But I have heard you* (Brother) *tell ſomething upon the preſent Subject, that was plain Matter of Fact, and had nothing of Fiction in it*; which was, that *C. Coponius*, a Man eminent for his Prudence and Learning, who commanded the Fleet at *Rhodes*, coming to you from *Dyrrhachium* (in *Sicily*) ſaid, that a Waterman belonging to one of the *Rhodian* Five-Oar Galleys had foretold, that *Greece* within leſs than thirty Days would be waſhed in Blood; that *Dyrrhachium* would be plunder'd; Men making their Eſcape by Sea, and leaving the Town behind them all in Flames; but that the *Rhodian* Fleet would ſoon have it in their Power to return Home: " You yourſelf could not help being " concern'd at that Time, and *Marcus Varro*, " and *M. Cato*, who were then preſent, were " under a very great Conſternation: And truly, " a few Days after, *Labienus* came, one of " thoſe that had been put to Flight at the Bat- " tle of *Pharſalia*; and all the Reſt of the

" the Prophecy was fulfill'd in a little Time. [a]
Calphurnia's Dream, Madam, that firſt ſurpriz'd you, in reading *Shakeſpear*, and ſince occaſion'd all the Trouble I am now giving you, has very good Authority to ſupport the Truth of it, as you rightly conjectur'd when we firſt talk'd of it. *Valerius Maximus*, who writ about the Beginning of *Tiberius*'s Reign, gives this Account of *Calphurnia*, which he introduces thus: " *The Night before the Battle at Philippi*, " (when the two Armies were drawn up ready " to engage; *Octavius* and *Anthony* on the one " Hand, and *Brutus* and *Caſſius* on the other,) " Artorius, *who was* Octavius's *Phyſician*, re- " *ceiv'd a Command in his Dream, under the* " *Repreſentation of* Minerva, *that he ſhould ad-* " *viſe* Octavius *not to ſtay in his Tent, though* " *he was at that Time very ill, but rather to be* " *carried out the next Day into the Field of* " *Battle*; Auguſtus *comply'd with the Admo-* " *nition given him by his Phyſician, being car-* " *ried out in a Litter*; *and whilſt he was in-* " *tent upon Victory more than his Strength* " *would allow of*, Brutus *forc'd his Camp*; and " his Soldiers entring *Octavius*'s Tent, puſh'd " their Swords thro' the Bed where they thought " he lay: *And how can we aſcribe this De-* " *liverance* (ſays Valerius) *to any Thing elſe,* " *but to a divine Providence? There was a* " *late Inſtance, that made* Octavius *the more* " *inclin'd to hearken to* Artorius's *Dream*;

[a] De Divin. L. 1.

" *and*

" *and that was* Calphurnia's *Dream relating* " *to* Julius Cæsar, *who had adopted* Octa-" vius. Octavius *had heard, that* Calphur-" nia *had seen her Husband, the Night before* " *he died, in her Sleep, stabb'd in many Places,* " *and lying in her Bosom; upon which she was* " *very importunate with him that he would* " *not go to the Senate-House the next Day; but* " *thinking that he should be reflected on, for* " *minding a Woman's Dream, he was resolv'd* " *to go, and so was murder'd* [a]. *Suetonius*, Madam, who liv'd in *Trajan*'s Time, and writ the Lives of the twelve *Cæsars*, takes Notice of several Prodigies pointing out the Death of *Julius Cæsar*, and appeals to the Authority of an intimate Friend of *Cæsar*'s, concerning such Matters. He says of *Cæsar* himself, " That the " Night before he was kill'd, he seem'd in his " Sleep to be sometimes flying above the Clouds; " at other Times to be shaking Hands with *Ju-* " *piter* himself: That his Wife *Calphurnia* " thought, she saw the Cupola of the House " tumbling, and her Husband stabb'd in her " Lap; and on a sudden the Chamber Doors flew " open of their own Accord: But *Cæsar* scorn'd " to regard these Things, and in a scoffing Way " upbraided *Spurina*, that the *Ides* of *March* " were come, but yet no Harm: To which he " reply'd, with a low Voice, that they were " come indeed, but not *past*. *Plutarch*, Madam, who was cotemporary with *Suetonius*, tells

[a] Lib. 1. Cap. 81, 82.

us, that *Calphurnia* was the Daughter of *Piſo* (a noble Family in *Rome*) and that *Cæſar* upon his Marriage, made *Piſo* Conſul for the Year following; upon which, *Cato* proteſted, exclaim'd, and grew very Noiſy; that it was a Thing not to be endur'd, that the Government ſhould be ſo Proſtituted; or that Marriage ſhould have ſuch Influence that *all Promotions* in the Common-Wealth ſhould be made ſubject to a *Female* Adminiſtration. And yet you ſee, Madam, what little Power *Calphurnia* had over her Husband, when even his own Life was at Stake; notwithſtanding the Clamour of that Malecontent; and ſure, it had been much better for *Cæſar*, ſuppoſing he did part with the Reins of Government, when he firſt married (as *Cato* objected) not to have taken them *wholly* out of her Hands again, but to have made a juſt Compliment of ſome Part of it, for his own Advantage, and not ſtubbornly to have decreed her *Judgment* to be ſo much inferior to his own. Beſides, ſhe deſerv'd much better at his Hands, than his former Wife *Pompeia*. *Plutarch* likewiſe takes Notice of many more Prodigies relating to *Cæſar*'s Death, than is done by *Suetonius*, and quotes *Strabo* as to ſome Particulars; among other Things of this Nature mention'd by *Plutarch*, 'tis obſervable, that *Cæſar*, the Night before, doing *Marcus Lepidus* the Honour of Supping with him, and ſome Diſcourſe happening to ariſe, what *Kind of Death* was moſt eligible, he immediately cry'd out, before any other, *A ſudden Death*; tho' he

was buſying himſelf in ſigning Letters at the ſame Time. *Plutarch* lets us know farther, that the Arguments which *Calphurnia* uſed, and the Manner in which ſhe expreſſed herſelf, did very much affect *Cæſar*; eſpecially, when he recollected, that he had never before obſerv'd her to be *ſuperſtitiouſly* inclin'd; whereas ſhe was now impatient and affected in an extraordinary Manner; and had it not been for the vile Suggeſtions of *Decius Brutus Albinus*, thoſe Arguments had undoubtedly prevail'd: *Calphurnia* had ſaved her Husband, and *Rome* their Dictator. 'Tis the ſame Author, Madam, that gives an Account of the *Apparition* to *Brutus*. *Plutarch* informs us, that *Brutus* was naturally very Watchful, and by Exerciſe and Temperance had habitually accuſtom'd himſelf to ſleep very little; and his Cuſtom was to ſleep a-while after Supper, and then to devote the Reſt of the Night to his weighty Affairs; and after that, if he had any Time to ſpare, he uſed to ſpend it in reading ſome Book or other, till the *third* Watch; which was the Time, the Commanding Officers uſed to come to him: *Brutus* then, at the dead Time of the Night, when there was a profound Silence through the whole Army, being full of Thought and projecting with himſelf, as well about tranſporting the Forces out of *Aſia*, as other important Matters, and having but a dim Light in his Tent, perceiv'd ſome Body, as he thought, coming into his Room: And turning his Eyes towards the Door, he ſaw a Perſon of an unuſual

uſual Size, grim and terrible in his Aſpect, ſtanding near him, but not ſpeaking a Word: Upon which *Brutus* taking Courage, ſaid, *Art thou Fleſh and Blood, or art thou from amongſt the Gods? What would'ſt thou have? And wherefore comeſt thou hither?* The *Apparition* with a hollow Voice ſaid, *I am thy evil Genius*, Brutus: *But thou ſhalt ſee me at* Philippi. *Brutus*, without any Concern, replyed, *I'll ſee thee.* There was accordingly the ſame *Appearance* at *Philippi*, but it ſaid nothing, and forthwith vaniſhed. *Brutus* told *Caſſius* of this *Appearance*, the *firſt* Time it happened: They had been often uſed to diſpute about ſuch Matters; and *Caſſius*, being fond of *Epicurus*'s Notions, endeavoured to argue *Brutus* into a Disbelief of the *Apparition*: But *Brutus* found it true to the laſt. The ſame Hiſtorian, where he is running the *Parallel* between *Dion* and *Brutus*, ſays: "But "that which is moſt of all to be wonder'd at "in thoſe two Men, is, that a frightful ill-na- "tured Demon viſibly *appear'd* to *both*, and "alſo appriz'd *both* of their Deaths. 'Tis in- "deed the common Way of talking, among "ſuch as deny theſe Things, that no Man in "his right Senſes ever ſaw a *Phantom* or an "*Appearance* of any Sort; but that only Chil- "dren and filly Women, or elſe Men who have "an ill Habit of Body and a diſtemper'd Brain, "have ſuch idle incoherent Fancies come into "their Heads, ſuperſtitiouſly believing that they "are haunted by ſome evil Spirit: But if *Dion* "and *Brutus*, who were Philoſophers, grave

"judi-

" judicious Men; no Ways credulous, or haſ-
" tily giving into any Opinion, were ſo far af-
" fected with an *Apparition*, as to acquaint
" their Friends with it, I don't ſee how we can
" well avoid admitting *again* the exploded O-
" pinion of the Antients; that wicked deluding
" Spirits, envying *good* Men, oppoſe all that
" they do; injecting Fears and raiſing Diſturb-
" ances in their Breaſts, that they may ſhake
" and undermine their Virtue; leſt by a ſteady
" and ſincere Practice thereof, they ſhould ob-
" tain a better Condition after Death than them-
" ſelves. *Plutarch*, you ſee, Madam, was no Sceptick, as to the other World; and the old exploded Opinion he talks of, is certainly a good Chriſtian Doctrine now: But then, you eaſily perceive, that the *Doctrine* is not rightly apply'd, in Regard to *Apparitions*. *Pliny*, the *Younger*, that great *Mæcenas* of his Time, and as able a Stateſman under the Emperor *Trajan*, had this Affair of *Apparitions* very much at Heart; and, when he had Time to ſpare, would conſult his more judicious Friends about it. There's a whole Letter of his [a] to his Friend *Sura* upon this very Subject; which I'll venture to tranſlate, as well as I can: But very often 'tis not eaſy to put *Pliny* in an *Engliſh* Dreſs. " The
" preſent Receſs (ſays he) from Buſineſs gives
" *me* the Opportunity of *learning*, and *you* of
" *informing* me, *upon the following Subject*: I

a Lib. VII.

" have

" have a great Deſire to have your Opinion a-
" bout *Apparitions*; whether there really be
" ſuch Things; whether they have their pe-
" culiar Forms or Shapes allotted them; and
" whether ſome divine Power is concern'd in
" it; or whether it be all a vain Chimæra, and
" ſuch Repreſentations owing to our Fears only:
" For my own Part, what chiefly inclines me to
" believe ſuch Things, is that which I hear
" happened to *Curtius Rufus*. When he was
" a Perſon low and obſcure in the World, wait-
" ing upon the *Quæſtor* in *Africa*, and one Day
" towards the Evening ſtalking about and mu-
" ſing in the *Piazza*, there *appeared* to him
" one, in the Shape of a Woman, bigger than
" the Life, and as much exceeding in Beauty:
" He being very much ſhocked at the *Sight*, ſhe
" told him that ſhe was an *African*, come to
" tell him his Fortune; that he would go to
" *Rome*, there have Honours conferred on him [a];
" and after that would return into the ſame
" Province, veſted with the higheſt Authority,
" and there die. Now all theſe Things came
" to paſs accordingly: Nay, moreover, when
" he arrived at *Carthage*, and whilſt he was
" diſembarking, 'tis ſaid, there was the very
" ſame *Appearance* on the Sea-Shore, as he
" had ſeen before. When Sickneſs at length
" had ſeized him, and he gueſſing what would
" follow from what was already paſt; *viz.* the
" dark and gloomy Part of Life, after a Scene

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a *Tacitus* relates the Story more particularly.

" of

" of Proſperity; 'tis certain, he did not enter-
" tain the leaſt Hopes of Recovery himſelf,
" whilſt not one of his Friends could ſee any
" Reaſon to deſpair of it. Another Incident,
" rather more terrible than the former, and
" every whit as aſtoniſhing, I'll give you an
" Account of, juſt as I received it myſelf.
" There was at *Athens* a large ſpacious Houſe;
" but it had got an ill Name of being *haunted*,
" and no Body was able to live in it: About
" Midnight there was a Noiſe; and, if you
" was very attentive, you might fancy the rat-
" ling of Chains one againſt another, and per-
" ceive ſuch ratling to hold longer, every Time
" it was repeated: Soon after this *appeared*
" the Reſemblance of a Meagre, ill-favoured
" old Man with a long Beard, a frightful Head
" of Hair, his Legs fettered, and his Hands
" chained; and theſe he ſhook and rattled to-
" gether: This ſo terrified the Domeſticks,
" that they paſſed their Nights in a very ſad,
" diſmal Manner; want of Sleep threw them
" into Diſtempers, and, their Fears encreaſing,
" often ended in Death: For even in the Day-
" time, though the *Spectre* was gone, their
" Imagination was as ſtrongly affected, as if
" 'twas really before their Eyes; ſo that the
" Fears of the *Spectre*, when preſent, occaſi-
" oned Fears of a longer Continuance, whilſt
" abſent: Upon this, the Houſe was quitted,
" and left to the *hideous* Monſter to range
" about in alone: However, a Bill was put up
" upon the Door, if any one ſhould be incli-

" ned either to purchaſe or to hire it, ignorant
" of ſo great an Inconvenience attending it.
" There happened *ſoon after* to come to *Athens*
" a Philoſoper called *Athenodorus*, who read-
" ing the Bill that was put up; and the *low*
" Price at which it was ſet, raiſing a Suſpici-
" on, and puting him upon making a farther
" Enquiry, he was ſoon let into the whole Se-
" cret; but nevertheleſs, nay, rather, upon that
" very Account, he reſolves to rent it. Accord-
" ingly, when the Evening drew near, he or-
" ders his Bed to be made in the firſt Apart-
" ment *forward*, and calls for his Candle, Pen,
" Ink, and Paper; and having diſmiſſed all his
" Family to their ſeveral Apartments *backwards*,
" at a Diſtance from him, he ſets himſelf to
" writing; his Hand, Eyes and Brain being all
" employed at once; that ſo his Soul might
" have no Time allowed it, either for imagining
" the Things he had heard reported, or for
" ſuggeſting any idle Fears. The firſt Part of
" the Night, all was huſh and quiet, as uſual;
" afterwards the Iron began to be ſhook, and
" the Chains to ſtir: *Athenodorus* neither
" looks up, nor lays down his Pen, but takes
" freſh Courage, and reſolves to ſhut his Ears:
" Then the Noiſe began to increaſe, and ſome-
" thing was heard to come forwards, as if it
" was ſometimes at the Door, at other Times
" within-ſide: Then *Athenodorus* looks back,
" ſees and perceives the *Apparition* to be juſt
" the ſame, as it had been deſcribed to him:
" It ſtood and beckened with a Finger, as one

" does

" does in calling another to him: *Athenodorus*, on the contrary, let him know, by the " Motion of his Hand, that he ſhould wait a " little; and then falls to writing again: Upon " which the *Apparition* rattled his Chains " about the others Ears, as he was writing: " *Athenodorus* looks back again, and ſees the " *Apparition* beckoning as before; upon which, " immediately he takes up his Candle, and fol- " lows it. It went on very ſlowly, as if its " Chains had been Burthenſome: After it had " turn'd aſide into a Court-Yard belonging to " the Houſe, it ſoon vaniſhes, leaving its " Companion *Athenodorus*; who being thus " left alone, gets ſome Graſs and Leafes, and " lays them in a Heap, to mark the Place *of* " *their parting.* The next Day he goes to the " Magiſtrates, and adviſes them to give Or- " ders, to have the Place ſearch'd: Upon dig- " ing; Bones are found link'd together, bare " and corroded by the Chains, after Time and " Mother Earth had corrupted the Fleſh: The " Bones being laid together, have publick Bu- " rial given them: After the Funeral Rites " were over, the Houſe was no longer haunted. " And thoſe, who affirm this Matter to be true, " are Perſons that I give Credit to. One Thing " more, I am able to aver the Truth of my- " ſelf: I have a Domeſtick, called *Mark*, no " illiterate Fellow; who has a younger Bro- " ther that lies in the ſame Bed with him: He " one Night thought he ſaw a Perſon ſitting " up in his Bed, clapping a Pair of Sciſſors to

" his Head, and cutting the Hair off from the
" very Crown: When 'twas Day-light, he found
" the Crown of his Head ſhav'd, and the Hairs
" lying about upon the Bed. Some little Time
" after that, another Thing happen'd of the
" like Nature, which ſerves to confirm the for-
" mer. One of the Boys being aſleep, with
" many more in the Lodging-room belong-
" ing to Servants, two Perſons in white
" *Tunicks*, ſeem'd to come through the Window,
" and to clip off his Hair, as he lay in Bed;
" and after this, went back again the ſame
" Way they came in: When Day appear'd,
" this Boy's Head was likewiſe found to be
" ſhav'd, and the Locks of Hair ſcatter'd about.
" Nothing remarkable follow'd, unleſs, it may
" be that I was not *arraign'd* at the Bar; as I
" ſhould have been, if *Domitian* had liv'd a
" little longer, under whoſe Reign theſe Things
" happen'd: For one *Carus* having turn'd an In-
" former againſt me, the Libel was found in
" *Domitian*'s Desk: From which Event, there's
" Room for Conjecture, that, as 'tis the Cuſtom
" for *Defendants* to let their Hair grow long,
" ſo the cutting off the Hair from my two
" Servants might ſignify, that the Danger which
" threatned their Maſter would ſoon be over.
" I beg of you then, to exert yourſelf, and
" ſhew the Learning you are Maſter of, upon
" this Occaſion: 'Tis a Subject, that deſerves
" to be ſeriouſly and thoroughly conſider'd by
" you: Nor yet am I unworthy, to be made
" wiſer by your diffuſive Knowledge. More-

" over,

" over, tho' you can argue, as you are uſed to
" do, on either Side of the Queſtion; yet do it
" ſtrenuouſly on one Side, leſt you leave me
" in Suſpence; and when the very Reaſon of
" my conſulting you was, that there might be
" no more doubting of the Matter. Farewel."
You ſee, Madam, with what an honeſt Simplicity this great Stateſman talks of *Apparitions*. Tho' he makes a Compliment to *Sura* for farther Information, yet, you may obſerve, he is rather inſtructing than inquiring of his Friend at the ſame Time. His own ſound Judgment was ſufficiently well known through the whole *Roman* Empire; nor was there a greater Patron of Learning, or any one leſs a Stranger to it, than himſelf: But what makes him ſhine the moſt in the *Chriſtian* World, is, the handſome Apology he makes for the Chriſtians, when he writes to his great Maſter *Trajan*: " He lets him know, that the Chriſtians
" were a People, not addicted to any Sort of
" Wickedneſs, as far as he was able to diſco-
" ver; nor was any Thing done by them con-
" trary, to the *Roman* Laws: For, as to Adul-
" tery and other enormous Crimes of that Na-
" ture, they were Things which they utterly
" abominated——— only, they caball'd, in
" getting together before Day-break, to ſing
" their Hymns to a certain God called Chriſt."
The Chriſtians, you ſee, in the Beginning of the ſecond Century, extorted much the ſame Confeſſion from *Pliny*, as the great Author and Finiſher of our Faith did from *Pilate*, *What evil*

hath

hath he done? I find no Fault in this Man. I am here reminded of putting an End to this long Letter, and of giving you ſhortly the Trouble of another concerning the *Dream* of *Pilate*'s Wife. But I am ſenſible, I have not yet acquitted myſelf of the Promiſe I made you, till I ſay ſomething of *Apparitions*, well atteſted, in the *Chriſtian* Church. This often happen'd in the *Infancy* of Chriſtianity, occaſion'd chiefly by Heathen Powers triumphing in the Blood of its Profeſſors. A Martyrdom often produc'd an *Apparition*; and *that* as often work'd the Converſion of Thouſands. When a Saint had firſt bore its Teſtimony in the Flames, and after that return'd with a Commiſſion from the other World, 'twas then high Time for an Infidel to renounce his Country Gods, and to look up to the *Saviour* of Mankind. I can aſſure you, Madam, 'twas *your Sex* made that glorious Figure during thoſe hot Perſecutions; who were often diſtinguiſh'd from Heaven after their cruel Deaths; and were made the Inſtruments of conveying *new* Life to thoſe, who had taken away their own. 'Twas the great, the renown'd *Potamiena*, who was *thus* honour'd, after her *Martyrdom*, for the Good of Mankind, under the Emperor *Severus*; who was two Years in *Great-Britain*, about the Beginning of the third Century, and is ſaid to have died here of the *Gout* at *York*. The Sufferings of *Potamiena*, and her *Appearance* afterwards to *Baſilides* her Executioner, has no leſs Authority to ſupport it, than that of *Euſebius*, who was living

ving about the latter End of the *ſame* Century; an Author, which I have had Occaſion to mention to you before: And it may be ſafely ſaid (as a late Prelate of our own expreſſes himſelf) that he is a Stranger to *Euſebius*, that knows him not to be as nice and curious in examining the Credit of his Authorities, as any the moſt critical Authors whatſoever. Now, *Euſebius* ſays [a], the Fact was much talk'd of by the Inhabitants, where *Potamiena* liv'd, even in his Time: She was in her Perſon very Beautiful; but yet more diſtinguiſh'd by her Chaſtity, in the many Repulſes which her hot Lovers met with; and a thouſand Hardſhips ſhe underwent for her Faith in Chriſt: After ſhe had ſuffer'd the moſt exquiſite Torments (frightful even to relate them) ſhe was at laſt Burnt with her Mother *Marcella*. When *Potamiena* was led to the Place of Execution, by *Baſilides* the proper Officer, and the Mob teazing and reviling with their filthy, obſcene Expreſſions; *Baſilides* puſh'd them off, and ſhew'd a great deal of Pity and Humanity to her. *Potamiena* taking kindly the Concern, that *Baſilides* had ſhewn for her, bade him take Courage; aſſuring him, that after her Death ſhe would petition her Lord and *Saviour* in his Behalf, and that he ſhould ſhortly be Rewarded for what he had done for her. Accordingly, ſoon after her Death, *Baſilides* being call'd upon, on ſome Account or

[a] Hiſt. Eccl. L. 6. C. 5.

other,

other, to take an Oath, he averr'd, that 'twas by no Means lawful for him to take it; for he was a *Chriſtian*, and as ſuch he then declar'd himſelf. Thoſe who *ſummon'd him* thought at firſt, that he had been in Jeſt; but having perſiſted in it, he was carried before the Magiſtrate; and there acknowledging the Charge *of being a Chriſtian*, he was immediately laid in Irons. Some godly Brethren coming to him, and enquiring what might occaſion ſuch a ſudden and unexpected Change of Mind, he is ſaid to have reply'd, That *Potamiena*, three Days after her Martyrdom, ſtood by him at Night, putting a Crown on his Head, and letting him know, that ſhe had ſupplicated the Lord in his Behalf; that her Requeſt was anſwered, and that in a little Time he would be Happy. *Baſilides* made a glorious Confeſſion of his Faith, and had his Head ſever'd from his Body. And this occaſion'd the Converſion of many more among the People at *Alexandria*, induc'd thereto by the Appearance of *Potamiena* in a *Viſion* to *Baſilides*. The *Viſion* that *Alexander* had ſoon after, directing him to leave *Cappadocia*, and to repair to *Jeruſalem*, in order to be Biſhop of that Place, and the Brethren *there* having alſo a *Viſion* to the ſame Purpoſe, is atteſted by *Euſebius* in as ſtrong a Manner, as we can deſire any Part of Hiſtory to be. I will give it you, as briefly as I can. This *Alexander* had ſignaliz'd himſelf very much during the Perſecution; and God in his good Providence had wonderfully protected him: 'Twas now reveal'd

to

to him in a *Viſion* at Night, ſays *Euſebius*[a], that he ſhould go to *Jeruſalem*, and aſſiſt in the Biſhoprick then held by *Narciſſus*, who was a hundred and ſixteen Years old: The Brethren belonging to the Church at *Jeruſalem* had not only the like *Revelation* made to them; but ſome of them, who were the moſt obſerving, heard a diſtinct Voice, ſignifying that they ſhould go without the City, and there receive the Biſhop that God had appointed them. This they did with the common Approbation of the Biſhops belonging to the neighbouring Churches, and having thus receiv'd *Alexander*, they oblig'd him to continue amongſt them; and upon the Death of *Narciſſus*, *Alexander* became ſole Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, as he was before Coadjutor in the ſame Office. But, perhaps, the moſt remarkable *Apparition*, that God appointed, during the ſeveral *Perſecutions*, was that which *Gregory* Biſhop of *Neo-Cæſarea* had in the third Century, upon his taking on him that weighty Office. I ſhall not venture to give you the Account itſelf, Madam, without premiſing ſome few Things; as well to introduce, as to eſtabliſh the Truth of ſo great an Event, that happen'd in the *Primitive Church*; *Gregory*'s Parents were Heathens; but he having ſtudied at *Alexandria*, *Athens*, and other Places, came at laſt to *Cæſarea*, where he went through a Courſe of all the polite Parts of Learning under his great

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[a] Lib. 6. C. 11.

Maſter *Origen*; with whom he lived about five Years; and during that Time was throughly inſtructed in the Principles of the Chriſtian Religion [a]: After this, *Gregory*'s whole Life was one continued Scene of *Wonders*, which God enabled him to work in Confirmation of the Doctrine he profeſſed; and for that Reaſon, he has been diſtinguiſhed all along in the Chriſtian Church by the Names of *Theodorus* and *Thaumaturgus*. St. *Baſil*, who lived about the Middle of the next Century, ſpeaks thus of St. *Gregory* [b]: "When we conſider *Gregory* the Great, and "the Words which he ſpake; in what Claſs "ſh ll we place him? Shall we not rank him "with the Apoſtles and Prophets? a Man who "walked with the ſame Spirit as they did; "who, without deviating, trod in the Steps of "thoſe Holy Men; and whoſe Life was con-"formable to the ſtricteſt Rules of the Goſpel. *Gregory*, Biſhop of *Nyſſa*, younger Brother of St. *Baſil*, is the Perſon that writes the Life of this great Man, *Gregory Thaumaturgus*; and (as a late eminent Prelate of our own has obſerved) [c] the Biſhop of *Nyſſa* was truly qualified for ſuch a Work, becauſe he was throughly acquainted with the Writings and Actions of St. *Gregory*. And now, Madam, I will venture to give you an Account of the *Apparition* to St. *Gregory*, as

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a *Vid.* Cave Hiſt. Lit.

b In Lib. de Spiritu Sancto, *Cap.* 29.

c Bulli Defenſio Fidei Nicænæ, *Sect.* 2. *Cap.* 12.

'tis

'tis in his Life, written by the Biſhop *Nyſſa* [a]; I think myſelf the more obliged to uſe this Caution, becauſe we live in an Age, wherein we but ſeldom hear of ſuch Things, from any Primitive Writers, in our *own* Language; or if we do, too many are apt ignorantly to cry out *Popery*, and then think, that's ſufficient to confute the Writer; though the Matter related, may, perhaps, have been ſeveral hundred Years before *Popery* was in being; and, conſequently, ſuch Declaimers do unwarily *arraign* the very Religion which they profeſs. The Account then, without any more Ceremony, is this: "When "*Gregory Thaumaturgus* had ſupplicated the "Almighty, that he might have a thorough "Knowledge given him of that Religion which "he was then going to preach; and one Night "being very thoughtful about his *Paſtoral* Of-"fice; what Method he ſhould take, in deli-"vering *ſound* Doctrine; as alſo what the ſeveral "Points were then controverted *concerning the* "*bleſſed Trinity*; he had thereupon a *Revelati-*"*on* made to him from Heaven: *Nor, indeed* (ſays Biſhop *Bull*) [b] *ought it to appear incredible to any one, that a Thing of this Nature ſhould happen to a* MAN, *whoſe whole Life, as all Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorians, who mention him (and there are ſcarce any, but do) unanimouſly agree, was remarkably famous, as well for Revelations as*

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[a] Greg. Nyſſ. Opp. 3 *Tom.*

[b] Vide ut ſupra.

Miracles done by him. The Revelation then, made to St. *Gregory*, was in the Manner following: "There appeared to him, when awake, "one reſembling an old Man; in his Habit "auguſt and noble; venerable and graceful "in his Perſon, and of a pleaſing Aſpect; all "ſerving to expreſs the Dignity and Excellency "of the Man: Upon this, St. *Gregory* being "aſtoniſhed roſe from his Bed; wanting to "know who it might be, and upon what Ac-"count he came: The other, having firſt with "a low and ſubmiſſive Voice leſſened the Sur-"prize, and compoſed the Mind of St. *Gregory*, "told him, that he *appeared*, by the Appoint-"ment of the Almighty, on Account of thoſe "Matters, about which he had been heſita-"ting; that ſo the Truth might be manifeſted "to every pious Believer: This being ſaid, St. "*Gregory* took Courage, and look'd at him with "ſome Sort of Pleaſure, but yet amazed at the "ſame Time: After this, the *Apparition* ſtretch-"ing out his Hand directly forwards, and, as it "were, pointing out to ſomething that was on "the other Side; and St. *Gregory* turning his "Eyes accordingly, perceived another *Appari-"tion* under the Reſemblance of a Woman; "but ſeemingly ſuperior to any Mortal what-"ever. St. *Gregory* being again aſtoniſhed, and "looking downwards, was at a Loſs how to be-"have at ſuch a Sight, not being able to be-"hold the *Apparition*: And, what was farther "very ſurprizing in this *Viſion*, though 'twas "a very dark Night, there was a Light ſhining

"round

" round about thoſe who *appeared*, as if ſome " great Torch had been burning. Being then " unable to look on, he gave Attention to the " Diſcourſe that paſſed between the Perſons ſo " *appearing*, concerning what he wanted to " know; by which Means, he was not only " truly inſtructed in what related to his Faith, " but knew moreover *by Name* thoſe who *ap-* " *peared* to him; they addreſſing each other by " a proper *Appellation*: For he is ſaid to have " heard the Perſon, who *appeared* like a Woman, " exhorting the other under the Name of *John* " the *Evangeliſt*, to make manifeſt the Myſtery " of Godlineſs to one, who was yet a Novice " therein; the other replying, that he was rea- " dy to perform what was ſo agreeable to the " *Mother of our Lord*; and St. *John* having " made a ſuitable Diſcourſe to St. *Gregory*, " drawn into a narrow Compaſs, they both *diſ-* " *appeared*. St. *Gregory* immediately commit- " ted to writing the divine Inſtructions, that " were given him: By *theſe* he regulated all " the Sermons he afterwards preached; and " what he received from Heaven, he bequeathed " as a Legacy to Poſterity; agreeable to which, " the People of that Place (viz. *Neo-Cæſarea*) " are inſtructed to this very Day, and continue " Proof againſt all *Heretical Pravity*." This lat- ter Part of the Account, Madam, was one Thing that weighed very much with Biſhop *Bull* [a],

[a] Vide ut ſupra.

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The History is given us (says he) *by that great Man* (meaning the Bishop of *Nyssa*) *in such a Manner, that no Man of Judgment can well doubt of it: For, he tells us, that the People of* Neo-Cæsarea *were instructed, to that very Day, in this Confession of Faith that* Gregory Thaumaturgus *had received; and that they continued free from all Manner of Heresy. He that has a Mind to be farther satisfied about this Matter* (says the Bishop of *Nyssa*) *let him hear the Church, where the Bishop of* Neo-Cæsarea *preached, and where these Things, under his own blessed Hand-writing are still preserved.* You see, *the very Hand-writing of* Thaumaturgus *is appealed to* (says Bishop *Bull*) *and that the People of* Neo-Cæsarea *had religiously preserved it till the Time that the Bishop of* Nyssa *wrote his Life. This Confession of Faith was received in the Church, as derived from* Thaumaturgus, *in the Time of St.* Basil; *and was admitted as such by all the Fathers in the fifth General Council.* 'Tis related by St. *Austin*, in his Epistle to *Paulinus*, *de Cura pro Mortuis*, &c. that *Fælix* one of the Martyrs, when the City of *Nola* in *Italy* was hard pressed by a rude barbarous Sort of People, *appeared*, not to one Person only, but to Numbers of the Citizens at once, being such of the Inhabitants, for whom formerly *Fælix* had a great Respect; And St. *Austin* says, that he had unquestionable Authority for what he so relates [a]. The *Vision* that *Con-*

[a] Non incertis rumoribus, sed Testibus certis.

stantine

ſtantine had, though 'tis well known, and often talked of, yet I cannot paſs it over; conſidering 'tis ſo well atteſted by *Euſebius*, who tells us, that he had the Account from *Conſtantine*'s own Mouth; *Conſtantine* appealing to Heaven for the Truth of what he was going to tell; and a little Time ſufficiently confirmed it [a]. The Account given by *Euſebius*, is as follows: "About three of the Clock in the Afternoon, "*Conſtantine* ſaid, that he ſaw, with his own "Eyes, a Pillar of Light in the Heavens in "the Faſhion of a Croſs, placed over the Sun, "whereon was an Inſcription, (*Euſebius* does "not ſay in what Language; but in the *Greek*, "which is the Language *Euſebius* writes in; "the Purport was) IN THIS OVERCOME. "*Conſtantine* was much ſtartled, and ſo was the "whole Army that beheld it. *Conſtantine* was "in doubt for ſome time, as he told me, what "might be the Meaning of this *Appearance*; "and whilſt he was muſing and reaſoning with "himſelf about it, Night came on; when our "Lord *appeared* to him in a Dream with the "Croſs in his Hand, charging him to make a "*Standard*, that ſhould reſemble what he had "ſo ſeen in the Heavens, and to have it born "before him, when he attacked his Enemies, "as an Enſign of Victory and Safety. *Conſtan-*"*tine* getting up early in the Morning, diſ-"cloſed the whole Affair to his Friends: and

[a] Euſeb. L. 1. de Vita Conſt. C. 28. &c.

"call-

" calling his Goldſmiths and Jewellers together, " he ſits down amongſt them, and deſcribes the " Form of the Thing he would have made, " and gave ſtrict Orders that the Figure ſhould " be expreſſed with Gold and precious Stones ; " and *ſuch Standard, Euſebius* ſays, he has ſome- " times ſeen himſelf. The Symbol, Madam, " was thus,

as 'tis deſcrib'd by *Euſebius* at large ; and we often meet with it in the Reverſe of the *Roman* Coins ; the X, and the P ſtruck through the former, being the two firſt Letters of Chriſt's Name in *Greek*. I do aſſure you, Madam, this Letter would ſoon ſwell into a large Volume, ſhould I purſue the Subject I am now upon ; but I ſhall not proceed any farther, unleſs you are pleaſed to require more of this Nature another Time. Give me Leave to reflect a while upon what has been ſaid already, and then to believe it Time to take my Leave. In the laſt Inſtance but one, 'tis expreſly ſaid, that 'twas done by the *Appointment of the Almighty* : But I neither learn from the Biſhop of *Nyſſa* the Relator, nor from any other Father of the Primitive Church, that it was the *real* Soul of the Virgin *Mary*, or of St. *John* the *Evangeliſt* that *appeared* ; and therefore am rather inclined to account for ſuch *Appearances*, in the Manner St. *Auſtin* has ſuppoſed, and which, you may

pleaſe

pleaſe to remember, I have already taken Notice of: And ſince we are aſſured, there are ſuch Numbers of *miniſtring Spirits*; why may we not ſuppoſe, that God *in general* may communicate his Mind to Mankind in *that* Way, when the Methods of his Providence upon any extraordinary Occaſions ſhall ſo require it, either by *Dream*, *Viſion*, or ſuch *external Appearance?* I remember St. *Auſtin* in another Place [a], Reaſons after this Manner; but does it with ſingular Modeſty: Nor would I offer it *otherwiſe* to you. He there ſays, when commenting upon that Paſſage in the Book of *Geneſis*, of *God's talking with Man* whom he had formed out of the Ground, "That, if we are "to underſtand *it literally*, it ſhould ſeem to "have been done by aſſuming a *Human Shape* [b]. "'Tis true, ſays he, this is not expreſly laid "down in that Book: But that Circumſtance "of *Speech*; and moreover, *Adam*'s being "ſaid to have *heard* the *Voice* of the Lord "walking in the cool of the Day, and to have "anſwered, *I heard thy Voice* and hid myſelf "*from thy Face* becauſe I was naked, ſeem to "imply as much: Nor do I ſee, ſays St. *Auſtin*, "how theſe Expreſſions can be taken in a *literal* Senſe, without admitting a *Human* "*Likeneſs*. It cannot well be ſaid, that there "was a Voice *only*, and nothing elſe; becauſe "He is ſaid to have *walked*; and if *walking*,

a Lib. 2. de Trin. C. 10.

b In ſpecie Hominis videtur Deus cum Homine tunc locutus.

" then *viſible*, in ſuch Manner as *Adam* might " be ſaid to *hide* himſelf. St. *Auſtin* is there " conſidering a Queſtion put, concerning the " Trinity; and ſays, *He made all Things by* " *his Word*; which WORD we know, as a ſure " Article of our Faith, to be his only *Son*. If " God the *Father* did *ſpeak* to the firſt Man *A-* " *dam*; *walk* in the Garden; and the Sinner *hid* " himſelf from his Face; why may not He be " underſtood to have *appeared* to *Abraham* and " *Moſes* and others, and in what Manner he " pleaſed, *by a Creature changeable and viſible,* " *made ſubject to his Will and Pleaſure, though* " *He himſelf in his Nature inviſible, and un-* " *changeable?*

I juſt hinted, as you obſerve, at the Beginning of this Letter, that *Angels*, both good and bad, do unqueſtionably ſerve the Purpoſes of an all-wiſe and infinite Being; that they do not only communicate by *Dreams* and *Viſions*, but are enabled to cloath themſelves with ſome *Ætherial* or *Aerial* Subſtance, and to aſſume the Likeneſs of Perſons, that are departed, and gone to their eternal Reſt; tho' the *Manner of it be as much above the Reach of Man's Underſtanding, as the* Union *of his own Body and Soul is:* And, I hope, Madam, the Account I have given you from the *Heathen* and *Chriſtian* World, ſupported by the beſt Authorities in each, may have ſerv'd to make good what I then advanc'd. But after all; will not ſome Perſons be apt to tell you, (I know they will)

will) that this Letter may poſſible prove a pretty Amuſement; but that the *Facts* related are all owing to the *Depravation* of the Human Senſes? I eaſily imagine *one* Gentleman, who often waits on you, and is very *adroit* in this Sort of Reaſoning, repreſenting to you, that there is Abundance of *Melancholly* in ſome Conſtitutions; *Choler* very aduſt in others; *Frenſies*; *Fevers*; and a general *Imbecillity*, whether natural or accidental, in Human Bodies; and that this is the Reaſon, that Men and Women imagine many Things that are *not*; that beſides, there is a great deal of *Superſtition* rooted in the Minds of moſt People, and requires Time and Pains to correct it by good Senſe and Argument; which otherwiſe is apt to draw us into the Belief of Things that are not *true*: However, he tells you, as uſual, that one Thing is certainly to be laid down as *true*, viz. That nothing can *appear* to Men, that exceeds or goes beyond the *Powers* of *Nature*. Roundly affirm'd! But, Madam, when we come to talk of *Nature* ſeriouſly, we are as much puzzled about it (with that Gentleman's Leave) as we are about the *Manner* of good and bad *Angels* aſſuming *Ætherial* or *Aerial* Subſtances. And therefore if he believes, that there is *One*, who commands *Nature*; and that almoſt every Thing in *Nature* is calculated more for our Admiration than *Comprehenſion*; why ſhould it be any Objection, if he cannot comprehend ſuch a *Way* or *Manner* of the ſame infinite Being's communicating his Will to Mankind? We often act the Philoſopher

in talking of *Gravity*; and yet 'tis a Thing, we ſtill find ſurpaſſes all the *Powers* of meer *Nature*, and all the Mechaniſm of Matter: No Part of Matter can be the Cauſe of its own *Gravity*; no more than it can be the Cauſe of the *Gravity* of another Body. *Deſ-Cartes*, who in the laſt Age was reckoned the great Maſter of a *Mechanical* Hypotheſis, does not ſuppoſe or admit of any *ſpecifical Difference* in *Matter* [a]: Nor can any one well imagine otherwiſe, but that all the *Matter* of the World is of *one* Kind, as to its *Eſſence*. Here then our Underſtandings are manifeſtly at a Loſs about *Motion*; and we *then* ſhew ourſelves to have moſt Reaſon, when we have Recourſe to the Author of Nature; acknowledging, that this is a *Power*, which he has reſerved in his own Hands; *Gravity* being the main Engine whereby the Univerſe is managed and ſupported, and is principally concerned in the moſt remarkable *Phænomena* of the natural World. Indeed, Madam, there's hardly any Thing occurs in *Nature*, but ſerves to remind us of our Ignorance of Things here *below*, and therefore how little qualified to judge of Things *above*. One Drop of Water only, may convince us, if we pleaſe: And (what the Gentleman, perhaps, may be ſtartled at) let that *Drop* of Water be well conſider'd; the more he uſes his Senſe and Reaſon in the Matter, the more he will find his Under-

[a] Princip. Philoſ. Part 2. S. 22, 23.

ſtanding

ſtanding foil'd; for the Microſcope, the more it enlarges the Sight, the *greater* Trouble it gives to the rational Faculties in accounting for the Diſcoveries that are made. The Microſcope, indeed, tells us, or, rather our capacious Souls know it to be true) that there are living Creatures in the Water *many Millions* of Times ſmaller in Bulk than a *ſmall viſible Sand* [a]. By an eaſy Calculation 'tis found, that there are not leſs than *twenty ſeven Millions* of ſuch Animals to make the Bulk of *one ſmall Grain of Sand:* But then, when we come to *reaſon* upon this Matter, that has been ſo *artificially* conveyed to us; in what Confuſion are our poor Souls, upon the Concluſions that are to be drawn, and the Aſſent that is to be given by us? *Each* of theſe *little Creatures* muſt be allow'd to have *Organs* or Inſtruments of ſome Kind or other fit to produce the Motion with which they are endow'd: Theſe *Organs* muſt be made up of Veins, Arteries or Veſſels, to convey Nouriſhment to them, and in Sinews or Strings by which they may ſtir and move: It muſt be farther granted, that the Water muſt find its Paſſage by theſe Veſſels, and conſequently the *Particles* of Water muſt be conſiderable *ſmaller* than theſe Veſſels; and ſince the whole Animal itſelf is but ſcarcely viſible, we muſt farther conclude, that ſuch Veſſels muſt

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a See Mr. *Leuwenhoek*'s Letter, among the Philoſophical Experiments of Dr. *Rob. Hooke*, publiſh'd by Mr. *Derham*, Page 55.

be wholly inviſible, and much more, the Parts of Water that move in them: And upon the Whole, we have Reaſon to think, that as Microſcopes will never help us ſo far, as to diſcover and diſtinguiſh the Particles of which Water does conſiſt; ſo that the Almighty, had he deſign'd us for ſuch curious Searches into the Works of his Hands, would have *given us Senſes* much more refin'd for that Purpoſe, than what he has heen pleas'd to allot us. I am perſuaded, Madam, this Argument will have its due Weight with you, however it may fail with *other*; being well aſſured that your Knowledge extends to Things, as well *natural* as *divine*; and if our Notions of Things *material* are thus manifeſtly ſo very imperfect, and the *Phænomena* in the Terreſtrial World are found not to lie level with our own ſcanty *Reaſon*, why are Things relating to the *Cæleſtial World* to be called in Queſtion? I will only obſerve, that the *Lucians* of the preſent Age take much the ſame Method as their Maſter did; who, in Oppoſition to the moſt renown'd Philoſophers of his Time, could find no better Argument againſt *Apparitions* in general than this, *viz. I don't believe them: Becauſe I only amongſt you all did never ſee any of them*; and as for the Reſt, 'twas put off with a *Jeſt*. But a *Jeſt*, without an Argument, will do no great Miſchief: And ſuch Gentlemen ſhould be often reminded of the Inference, which the *Roman* Orator draws, where he is arguing about Things of this Nature, viz. *I am fully apprized*, ſays he, *that theſe Matters*

may

may be had in Contempt, and made the Subject of Ridicule and Buffoon'ry: But, then ſuch Perſons ought to know, that *the very Reaſon why they act ſo, is, becauſe they don't* believe *in any ſuperior Being; and conſequently make light of every Thing that is communicated from the other World* [a]. I have often wonder'd, how the *Sadducees* could deny the Being of *Angels* and *Spirits*, (as we read in the Goſpel they did) ſince *Moſes* ſo often makes mention of them, and of appearing to Mankind; I do therefore, for my own Part, take the *Sadducees* to have been a complaiſant Sort of *Atheiſts*, who outwardly paid a Regard to ſome Parts of the *Jewiſh* Religion on Account of the People, but no otherwiſe: And this is the Reaſon, that *Juſtin Martyr*, in his Dialogue with *Trypho* the *Jew*, does not reckon the *Sadducees* in the Number of the *Jews*, but reputed them as *Hereticks*, not allowing them any Place in the *Jewiſh* Church. And *Celſus*, who was a Sort of an Epicurean, copy'd exactly after the *Sadducees* (as may be ſeen in *Origen*, who there anſwers him) making a Jeſt of Angels and the Reſurrection; and generally of all thoſe *Apparitions*, which are mentioned both in the Old and New Teſtament. The true Reaſon then, Madam, why we are at a Loſs in framing any Notion of *Spirit*, is, becauſe our Souls are ſo *immerſed* in

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a Hæc poſſe contemni, vel etiam rideri, præclare intelligo: Sed id ipſum eſt, Deos non putare: Quæ ab iis ſignificantur, contemnere. Cic. Lib. 1. de Divin.

Matter

Matter themſelves: But then, if the *Difficulty* of framing a Conception of a Thing, be any juſt Argument againſt the *Exiſtence* of the Thing itſelf; we muſt ſoon queſtion the very *Being* of our own Souls; becauſe their being *united* with our Bodies, as I have hinted already, is what we can form no Notion of here; we muſt moreover queſtion, you ſee, what our *Microſcope* tells us is *true* in the material World, *becauſe* we cannot comprehend it; nay, if this Sort of Argument is to be allowed of, there will be nothing but *Spirit*, and no ſuch Thing as a *Body* left in the World: for *Extenſion* of *Matter* has ſo many Difficulties attending it, when we come to *reaſon* truly about it, that our Definition of *Body* is lame and imperfect; and when we once talk of finite and infinite *Diviſion*, our Heads turn giddy; we run into Abſurdities on either Side of the Queſtion, and nothing is left us to *exiſt*, by ſuch Argument, but the *very Being* that reflects within us. There is then great Reaſon to affirm, that ſuch who entertain a Diſbelief of *Spirits*, *becauſe* they cannot *underſtand*, what *immaterial* Beings are, do unhappily entertain a Notion, that *leads* to all Manner of *Irreligion* and Prophaneneſs: For, when we have once baniſhed the Belief of *incorporeal* Beings out of the World by ſuch Sort of reaſoning; what is this, but carrying us on to the dethroning of the ſupreme *Spirit* or Father of all? Let ſuch then talk of their Belief in God; the Human Soul; Angels and Devils; and of the Holy Scriptures too, which

declare

declare theſe Things to our Faith; yet if they will otherwiſe diſcard immaterial Beings, becauſe they *cannot* frame a Notion of them; they are only giving the great Creator an empty Name, an inſignificant Attribute, and, in Reality, believing and ſpeaking they know not what. I am pretty ſure, there are many, who are not ſufficiently aware of the fatal and pernicious Conſequences of this *Sadducean* Principle; who are apt to think, they may very ſafely deny the *Exiſtence* of *Spirits*, and yet that the *Being* of God is no Ways affected by ſuch a Denial; for God, they argue, might be *without* ſuch *immaterial Subſtances*, as He was certainly *before* them: Nay, God, ſay they, had been *God*, though he had not been a Creator. Thus the hardy *Deiſt*, to avoid the Force of *Revelation*, finds himſelf obliged to propagate his Poiſon; but this muſt end in real Atheiſm: For thoſe that will not bluntly ſay, There is no God; when they argue in this Manner, do really eſtabliſh no other God, than what *Epicurus* and his Followers did; and that I muſt ever think, amounts to real Atheiſm: But, if St. *Paul* is to be hearkened to; (and why ſhould the *Deiſt* refuſe it?) *the inviſible Things of him from the Creation of the World are clearly ſeen, being underſtood by the Things that are made, even his eternal Power and Godhead, ſo that they are*, or *(that they may be) without Excuſe* a. When

a *Rom.* i. 20. εἰς τὸ εἶναι αὐτοὺς ἀναπολογήτους.

we talk of a *Spirit* then, as Chriſtians, Madam, we talk of it in Oppoſition to *ſuch Bodies* as we now carry about us; in the Senſe, as our Saviour directs his Diſciples to underſtand it, when they *ſuppoſed they had ſeen a Spirit: Handle me and ſee, for a* SPIRIT *hath not Fleſh and Bones, as ye ſee me have*[a]. The Diſciples were not ignorant, how frequent *Apparitions* were under the *Jewiſh* Diſpenſation; nor does our Saviour *there* give the leaſt Intimation, that they were not to expect the *Continuance* of them under the Goſpel: But rather corrects the groſs Notions, which in *a Fright* they had conceived in that Matter: *A Spirit hath not Fleſh and Bones*; but yet *it* may have ſuch an *Ætherial* or *Aerial* Vehicle, as may in other Reſpects ſerve to repreſent a Perſon as convincingly to our Senſes, as if it had ſuch a *real* Body, to which our Souls are here united. Thus much, I think, may fairly be concluded from our Saviour's Words; and nothing more is deſired to be granted: For, as to the *Manner*, how *Spirits* may be united to ſuch *Vehicles*, our Notions about that, are nothing more intricate, perplext or difficult, than *thoſe* are, which the ableſt Philoſophers can give us either of their own Soul and Body, or of the Body in general. The honourable and renowned Mr. *Robert Boyle*, did unqueſtionably know as much, if not more, of the *Powers* of Nature, than any Man what-

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[a] *Luke* xxiv. 39.

ever:

ever: And yet his Knowledge was not more extenſive, than 'twas uſeful and ſerviceable to Religion. With what Piety does he reflect, in all his *Recherches*; adoring that infinite *Spirit that once moved upon the Waters*; confeſſing the *Myſtery*, how God, the moſt ſimple and pure *Spirit* can act upon Matter; and how the Soul and Body work upon and affect each other? This learned Gentleman was well known to be a Perſon, by no Means credulous in the Affair of *Apparitions*; and yet a Co-temporary of his, an eminent Author, *Dr.* Henry More *in his Collection of Philoſophical Writings*, aſſures us, that Mr. *Boyle*, whilſt at *Geneva*, was thoroughly convinced of the Truth of that Relation which he there had of a Houſe at *Maſcon* in *Burgundy* haunted in a very terrible Manner. Mr. *Perreand*, whoſe Houſe it was, gave Mr. *Boyle*, at *Geneva*, a Copy of his Book, which he was going to print concerning the Affair. The learned *du Moulin*, in his Preface to Mr. *Perreand*'s Book, ſays, "That this familiar Converſation of the Devil was not in a Corner, or in "a Deſart (where the Melancholly of Witches is ſuppoſed to make them fancy they converſe with him) but in the midſt of a great "City, in a Houſe where there was daily a "great Reſort to hear him ſpeak, and where "Men of *contrary Religions* met together; "whoſe Proneneſs to caſt a Diſgrace upon the "diſſenting Parties did occaſion the *narrow examining* and *full confirming* the Truth thereof, both by the Magiſtrate and by the Dio-

 "ceſan,

" ceſan of the Place. Mr. *Boyle* had the Opportunity, as well of enquiring after Mr *Perreand* the Relator, as concerning the ſeveral Paſſages in his Book; and yet (to uſe the Words of Dr. *More*) *Mr.* Boyle *was ſo well ſatisfied, that he* profeſſes, *that all his ſettled Indiſpoſedneſs to believe ſtrange Things was overcome by this ſpecial Conviction.* I ſhould not, Madam, have given you any *modern* Inſtance of Things of this Nature, had it not been introduced by ſo great a Name as that of Mr. *Boyle*; who ever thought it unreaſonable to diſclaim any certain Truth, *becauſe* our Faculties are found not ſufficient to comprehend it. He has given ſufficient Demonſtration in his Writings, how readily he believed St. *Paul*, where he talks of *ſpiritual Bodies* [a]; and I cannot ſee any Thing amiſs, if thoſe Words of St. *Paul* were tranſlated, *ſuch Bodies as Spirits or Angels have.* 'Tis certain, *we ſee through a Glaſs darkly*, when we talk of thoſe Expreſſions of St. *Paul* relating to the *Change* of our Bodies: *We ſhall all be changed*; as well ſuch, as are *aſleep*, as ſuch who ſhall be *alive* at the Coming of our Lord; but then St. *Paul* bids us obſerve, that this mighty *Change* is a *Myſtery*: There will ſtill be our *Body*; but then 'twill be a *Body* in Contradiſtinction to what we tranſlate a *natural Body* [b]: Our Bodies will be *pure* and *refined*; and

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a Σώματα πνευματικά, 1 *Cor.* xv. 44.
b Σῶμα ψυχικόν.

theſe

theſe are the *ſpiritual Bodies*, ſays the Apoſtle: And our Saviour tells us [a], when *ſuch* Bodies ſhall be given, *we ſhall be as the Angels which are in Heaven.*

All I ſhall add, is, an Account which I *myſelf* had, ſome Years ago, from a very ingenious Gentleman, a Member of *Parliament* for ſome Part of *North Britain*; being ſome of the Diſcourſe, with which I and others were entertained in a *Stage Coach.* He aſſured me, that a Widow, a Tenant of his in *North Britain*, and who had a great many Children to provide for, did *appear* to him one Night, when he was in Bed at his Lodgings in *Pell-Mell* near St. *James*'s; that the Widow let him know, that ſhe was *dead*; but was very *importunate* with him, that he would take Care of the great Family ſhe had left behind her; that he having conſented to what was requeſted, ſhe immediately *ſqueezed* him (as he thought) about one of his *Wriſts*; that a Brother Member of *Parliament* calling on him the next Morning to go to the *Houſe*; he related to him, as he was getting out of Bed, what had happened to him in the Night, and occaſioned his lying longer than ordinary; the *Story* (he ſaid) at firſt made his Friend very merry: But looking upon *that* Wriſt which he thought the Woman *ſqueezed* ſo hard, and obſerving, together with his Friend, a *black Spot* on either Side of it, not leſs in

[a] *Mark* xii. 25.

Circum-

Circumference than a *Sixpence*; they *both* began to think and talk of the Matter very ſeriouſly: The Gentleman aſſured me, that he ſhewed thoſe *black Spots* to Hundreds of People; that the *Spots* daily *decreaſed*, and ſo continued on till he had his *Letters* from *North Britain*; by which he learnt that the Widow died the *ſame* Night that ſhe *appeared* to him in *Pell-Mell*; that ſhe expired with the ſame Concern for her Children, and lamented the Abſence of her Landlord; and he farther aſſured me and the Company, that he was fully convinced of ſuch *Apparition*; and that he did accordingly take *Care* of the Widow's Children. There are many now living, to whom I have given this Account, as well as to yourſelf: I hope, a kind Providence may ſoon permit me to ſend you two or three *Letters* more on the remaining Subjects; when I ſhall be ſo happy as to learn, that *this* has given you any Satisfaction: or that 'tis like to anſwer the *End* you propoſed; which I am well aſſured, was to do *Service* to Religion: And I can aver, with the greateſt Sincerity; 'tis with the ſame View, that the Commands you laid on me have been ſo chearefully obeyed by,

MADAM,

Your very Humble Servant.